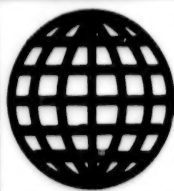


JPRS-NEA-94-030

14 June 1994



**FOREIGN  
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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Near East & South Asia**

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# Near East & South Asia

JPRS-NEA-94-030

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14 June 1994

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## REGIONAL AFFAIRS

### Egypt's Arms Limitation Delegation Head Interviewed

94LD0062A London AL-HAYAH in Arabic  
30 Apr 94 p 6

[Interview with Ambassador Nabil Fahmi by Muhammad 'Allam in Cairo; date not given: "Israeli Arms Policies Geared for Conflict, Not Peace"—first two paragraphs are AL-HAYAH introduction]

[Text] Ambassador Nabil Fahmi, head of the Egyptian delegation to the arms limitation committee of the multiparty talks and political advisor to the Egyptian foreign minister, has confirmed that Egypt will not accept Israeli military supremacy, from fear of a military confrontation caused by any dispute that may occur. He indicates that Egypt is monitoring Israel's weapons policies and notices that they "are still geared for conflict, not peace."

He warns, in an interview with AL-HAYAH, of the danger of American arms exceeding the limits of a country's legitimate security needs, saying, "When we reach the point of supremacy, and an upset in the balance, then we have reached a point of danger." He reaffirmed that a continued arms race would lead to a political shock in the Middle East, and warned of the likelihood of a confrontation that could result in damaging the interests of the lesser militarily-superior country.

The text of the interview follows:

[Allam] What are the ramifications of the peace process on the armament needs of Egypt and other countries in the region? Are the factors and motives that defined the quantity and type of arms in the past now passé, with the advent of a comprehensive peace?

[Fahmi] Neither Egypt nor any Arab state can accept exposing themselves to danger; this is something we insist upon. The relevant parties must take whatever steps they see as necessary in this regard, because the requirements for legitimate defense are a principled requirement, and absolutely cannot be tampered with.

I believe there is no contradiction between maintaining the essentials for legitimate defense, and arms limitation and regional security. On the contrary, these two movements are congruent, as the concept of peace is based on the balance of security needs. The positions and commitments support each country's securing its national interests, and handling their security needs, in a framework suitable to its economic and social requirements. At the same time, we hope that among the results of peace will be a reduction in the tension in this region and a curb on the tendency of some countries to compete in arming themselves, developing arsenals, and introducing various new weapons systems.

[Allam] Egypt's motives for arming itself may have changed, but Israel's policies are not geared to a change in motives or the possibility of changing in the future.

[Fahmi] We are monitoring Israel's arms policies, and we hope that these policies will evolve in conformity with the concept of peace. We see no logic or justification calling for military supremacy over a neighbor or neighbors, in the context of peace. Every party must review its concept of security in a way suited to the circumstances of peace and the changes that will occur in this region.

[Allam] Egypt proposes the principle of equality of balance. What is the concept of balance for Egypt—between Israel and every Arab party individually, or between Israel and the Arabs as a geographical bloc?

[Fahmi] Prior to the peace process, there were unacceptable pretexts for the balance of Israel's military power with Arab military capabilities, as it was an invitation to an arms race. After the process, and the positive progress it has achieved on all tracks, albeit slowly, we can find absolutely no justification for the continuation of these invitations, rooted in the theory of conflict. The aim of the talks in the committee for arms limitation is a balance of security and equality of commitments among neighboring countries, regardless of whether they are Arab countries bordering other Arabs, or between Arab countries and Israel or other countries. Egypt does not believe in the philosophy of balancing blocs versus one state.

[Allam] There will be, within one year, a conference on "expanding the validity of the nuclear proliferation treaty." Will Egypt sign up to expand the validity or link it to Israel's signing the treaty, as is the case with the chemical weapons nonproliferation treaty?

[Fahmi] We must look positively about the conference, to encourage the other countries of the region to join it, instead of looking upon it as a group to confront. Egypt calls upon the countries of the region, including Israel, to join the treaty, as matters will be assessed in light of it in time. It is not rational or understandable for any country to maintain the right to obtain a certain weapon or remain outside the system of banning certain arms, as long as its neighbors also join, especially as any arms limitation accord in any field would be based on a balance of power and of rights, and the congruence of legal commitments among neighboring countries. Egypt's cautious position as regards joining the treaty for banning chemical weapons is the result of the failure of a certain country to move towards compliance with our security demands, or to take into consideration some things that worry us in the area of securing our interests.

[Allam] Is Egypt disturbed by the fact that some countries of the region are still in the arms race, which could some day lead to hostile tendencies, and thus a move to build a defense and deterrent force, meaning that the multiparty talks are futile?



[Fahmi] Egypt does not accept that a neighboring country be militarily superior to it, because this increases the likelihood that that neighboring country would in the future resort to arms in the event of a political dispute, and lest circumstances or a limited dispute escalate into a military confrontation ending in damaging the interests of the lesser militarily-superior country. Thus the continuation of the arms race would inevitably lead to instability and weakened security, and expose the region to a political shock.

[Allam] Are conventional weapons still Egypt's major alternative in the event Israel persists in refusing to sign the nuclear nonproliferation treaty?

[Fahmi] Conventional weapons comprise the basic component in guaranteed legitimate defense, according to the United Nations charter. We hope that these weapons will remain the basic systems, meaning that we do not want things to go farther, with any country in the region beginning to introduce the nuclear factor into its security calculations. This would lead to a security imbalance that would be very hard to correct, and we do not believe that there is any chance for arms limitation measures or security arrangements if any country in the region retains the nuclear option.

[Allam] Does Egypt think that the United States, the major supplier of arms to the countries of the Third World, will have a role in stopping the arms race?

[Fahmi] Some countries obtain their arms from the United States and other countries, and these are legitimate security needs. But when we reach the point of supremacy, and an upset in the balance, then we have reached a point of danger, linked not only to the arms a country imports, but to other factors, such as local production and military capability.

This is the responsibility of the United States, in arms limitation and regional arrangements in the Middle East, as the major sponsor of the peace process. I do not, however, agree with the attempts of some to assess the security of any country based solely on the arms it purchases. It is not possible to deal with this topic by banning the importation or sale of arms; we must look at all aspects, such as the country's capacity to manufacture arms and what it imports, as well as the types of these arms, and the arms it exports to other countries.

[Allam] The Cairo meetings last December, between rounds of the arms limitation talks, turned up disputes in points of view—what are they? What are the major topics to be at the Doha meeting?

[Fahmi] There were differences, but not disputes. This is natural, as the meetings are part of the first phase of negotiations in this area. They came up in the area of the committee's work priorities, as some countries focused on confidence-building measures such as contacts, exchange of information, and arrangements regarding military forces. Other countries, mostly Arab countries,

including Egypt, saw no contradiction between the pursuance of confidence-building measures and the initiation of the arms limitation process now.

Despite these differences, the Cairo meeting was positive and constructive. Progress was made towards agreement on a regional security declaration, and arms limitation, including special principles for security and arms limitation, and its priorities and ultimate objectives. We hope to reach a final agreement on this declaration in the Doha meetings.

[Allam] Will the Arab joint defense accord be nullified if regional security arrangements are reached in the multi-party talks?

[Fahmi] With the development of circumstances in the region, we will find ways of reconciling the new arrangements with the existing ones. There are numerous ways, not only this agreement—measures that support each other as long as they tend to defend legitimate and legal positions and principles. The matter of canceling the agreement concerns only the member states of the Arab League, and will be studied, as these states see this in the context of the League and not of the arms limitation committee.

## PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

### Palestine Investment Company Strategy

94AF0190A Jerusalem AL-MANAR in Arabic  
18 Apr 94 pp 11, 15

[Text] As soon as the first and most important Palestinian-Jordanian private sector company was declared, Faysal al-Husayni proposed that a Palestinian-Arab international conference be held in Jerusalem to develop the holy city and to "create Palestinian facts" [on the ground].

If PEDRA [Palestinian Economic Development and Reconstruction Agency] is tantamount to our national authority's public sector, and subsequently our newborn state's public sector, then the founding of the Palestine Development and Investment Company on 23 March [1994] lays down the cornerstone of a new private sector so as to complete the building of a national economic structure. This structure is to undertake the burdens and tasks of correcting the distortions inflicted by the occupation on the economy of the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip; to draft the development strategies of the future Palestine; and to form an important tributary of future development in the homeland. It is hoped that the private sector will secure 60 percent of the investment resources needed for the Palestinian development program, whose total costs are estimated on the basis of this year's prices at \$13.4 billion, of which \$11.6 billion is for basic costs, i.e., \$1.16 billion annually, plus 12 percent to cover inflation and 10 percent added to the total as reserves in anticipation of the possible need for investment allocations exceeding the current estimates.

Perhaps many people recall the complications engulfing PEDRA's formation last October and the struggle the PLO leadership waged in connection with this agency's makeup with the IMF and with some parties planning to grant aid to the self-rule authorities in Gaza and Jericho. Numerous objections were raised against PEDRA's makeup, expressing the opinion that this makeup favored politicians at the expense of economists and specialists. The PLO's official position was expressed in a phrase uttered by Chairman 'Arafat who said, "I will not be another Gorbachev." One should keep in mind, however, that some Palestinian circles concerned responded positively to these objections!

The Palestine Development and Investment Company, which has received the PLO's support and backing since it emerged as an idea nearly a year ago, is tantamount to a melting pot for attracting and organizing Palestinian resources and capabilities inside and outside the occupied homeland. The purpose is to enable this company to contribute to building the edifice of our newborn state and to motivate other Palestinian parties and notables to emulate this company's constituent assembly, each party in its field of specialization and according to the formula that it deems fit.

The idea of the company was born nearly a year ago and a constituent committee was formed for the purpose under the chairmanship of Munib al-Misri, a well-known Palestinian businessman. It was agreed that the company's capital would be \$200 million and that a number of Palestinian businessmen and financial institutions inside and outside the homeland would contribute to this capital. The constituent committee included Munib al-Misri; Khaldun Abu-Hassan, chairman of the Amman Chamber of Industry; 'Abd-al-Majid Shuman as representative of the Arab Bank; Kamal al-Sha'ir as representative of the Engineering House; and Kamal Hassunah and 'Awni al-Misri of the Cairo-Amman Bank.

When the necessary preparations were completed, the company's constituent conference was held on 23 March [1994] at the offices of the Amman Chamber of Industry in Amman, Jordan's capital. The conference was attended by brother Abu-al-'Ala', Fatah Central Committee member and head of the PLO Economic Department, who delivered an address on behalf of Chairman Yasir 'Arafat. The conference was also attended by brother Fayçal al-Husayni, chairman of the Palestinian negotiating delegation's steering committee; Dr. Jawad al-'Anani, the Jordanian information minister; and al-Tayyib 'Abd-al-Rahim, the Palestinian ambassador to Jordan and Fatah Central Committee member.

#### **Abu-'Ala': Six Strategies**

In the address he delivered on behalf of brother Abu-'Ammar, brother Abu-al-'Ala' paused before three main pivots on occasion of "celebration of the launching of the first and most important Palestinian private sector establishment." These pivots are: first, goals of development in Palestine; second, development strategies in

Palestine; and, third, investment resources necessary for the Palestinian development program. Abu-al-'Ala' noted that the details of this development program are available at the PLO's Economic Department.

Regarding the first pivot, brother Abu-al-'Ala' defined the economic and social development goals and priorities of the new Palestinian political entity and its national authority, both of which will lead the economy and the society to achieve the following:

1. Correct the distortions, flaws, and bottlenecks experienced by the Palestinian economy as a result of the occupation and of its actions.
2. Expand and improve the material, economic, and social infrastructure.
3. Create a large number of work opportunities in the fields of production, service, and others in order to absorb the workforce suffering from unemployment.
4. Promote export-generating sectors which have the intrinsic capability of earning foreign currency (tourism, for example).
5. Meet our people's human needs in the areas of food, clothing, housing, education, health, and other services.
6. Gain and resettle an effective technological capability, considering that education, teaching, and training are three meshed priorities in the program.
7. Encourage the private sector and open the door for it to take part in all development opportunities freely and to participate in constructing 185,000 new housing units in order to make up for the shortfall in the area of housing and to absorb repatriates.
8. Seek to achieve balance and equality between men and women and between the various districts and social and economic groups.

As for Palestine's development strategies, they must be selected carefully and correctly and they must include a number of strategies that contribute to enhancing and diversifying production. These strategies include:

The first strategy calls for efforts to:

- A. Establish a rational balance between agriculture and industry.
- B. Establish a rational balance between exports and imports.
- C. Make maximum use of land and water resources.
- D. Strengthen the bond and the interaction between the various sectors.
- E. Select the appropriate technology for all branches of the economy with utter care.
- F. Set up the establishments, centers, and frameworks that support the economic activity.

Second strategy: it is embodied in the maximum mobilization of the capacities and abilities of the diaspora Palestinians to participate seriously in the building processes. This means attracting significant assistance in the areas of finance, investment, and in educational, administrative, and scientific technology.

Third strategy: it is embodied in adopting the course of self-reliance within the context of collective (i.e., Arab) reliance. This does not mean retreating into a shell but rather resorting to the maximal mobilization and use of society's capabilities on sound bases and principles.

Fourth strategy: it is embodied in taking advantage of Arab and international aid, with controls to ensure the sound and correct implementation of projects.

The fifth strategy calls for respecting human rights and the citizen's right to enjoy the basic freedoms and to participate in politics on the basis of democracy and plurality.

Sixth, and final, strategy: it calls for the full utilization of the traditions that motivate and promote development as a consequence of the feeling of liberation and freedom from occupation and of the aspiration to build a homeland.

The Palestinian official also emphasized the importance of creating a market economy and the importance of practicing plurality and democracy to avoid the dangers of the single opinion and, consequently, to ensure that all society participates in shouldering the responsibility. Abu-al-'Ala' also noted the importance of understanding the nature of the special laws and economic conditions in the transitional phase, which will be governed by the Declaration of Principles. But the conditions will be [ultimately] determined by our action, by the way we build our institutions and systems, and by their ability to bring about practical change on the real ground.

Munib al-Misri, the committee chairman, spoke in his address about the company's tasks and priorities, defining six of them, just for example. These are:

1. The company will participate in Arab-Palestinian joint-stock companies to be founded in the Palestinian territories to participate with the private sector effectively—the first of which will be the Palestine Pioneers Investment Company; to implement economic plans capable of correcting the flaw that has hit the economic structure throughout the past decades; and to execute a large number of economic projects that are expected to exceed \$1 billion in value.
2. The company will aid industries that exist in Palestine currently—especially small industries—financially, administratively, and technically.
3. It will launch efforts to encourage the private sector to play a role that supports and complements the public sector so as to contribute to building the future state.

4. It will work to improve the investment climate so as to attract Palestinian, Arab, and international investments.

5. In designing the company's legal structure and the structure of other domestic joint-stock subsidiaries that emanate from it, we have taken into account expansion of the participation base so that the largest number possible of our kinsmen can contribute directly to the economic development process, provided that no single individual's participation exceeds 1-percent of the company capital. The objective is to provide the opportunity to everybody.

6. The joint-stock Palestine Development and Investment Company will seek to achieve balanced development that encompasses all economic sectors, with redoubled emphasis on the production sectors which possess favorable advantages, especially the industry, tourism, and construction sectors. The objective is to provide extensive work opportunities, to boost the existing industries, to implement projects that contribute to the transfer of technology, and to achieve high added values.

#### **Report on Palestine Investment Company**

94AF0190B Jerusalem AL-NAHAR in Arabic  
25 Mar 94 p 17

[Article by Khalid al-Zubaydi]

[Text] The first and biggest Palestinian holding company, with a capital of 200 million dinars [currency as published], has emerged at the Amman Chamber of Industry with the participation of Palestinian, Jordanian, and Arab banks, companies, and investment figures. The company, considered a distinguished private sector effort, seeks to establish investment projects in the Palestinian-Arab territories.

Participants in the constituent meeting viewed the launching of the Palestine Development and Investment Company as a part of Palestine's modern history and as an important step in the direction of a market economy, which is embraced by the Palestinian leadership as a path, according to Ahmad Quray' (Abu-al-'Ala').

Sources of the [company's] constituent committee have estimated the volume of investments expected to be contributed by the Palestine Company at \$1 billion. Raja'i al-Misri, the company spokesman, has asserted that the constituent assembly has developed initial ideas for a long list of projects. He has also estimated the company's investments in the first year at nearly \$200 million.

In response to a question by AL-RA'Y, al-Misri pointed out that the company's Executive Board is inclined to invite [public] subscription for 49 percent of the capital of the Palestine Pioneers Establishment as a first practical step on the company's part.

Dr. Jawad al-'Anani, Jordan's information minister and minister of state for cabinet affairs, expressed hope that

the company will accomplish its tasks of developing Palestine; creating work opportunities for those who seek them; and expanding the spheres of fruitful investment. He also asserted Jordan's support for development and reconstruction efforts in the occupied territories.

Dr. al-'Anani also noted that economic relations between Jordan and the occupied territories have continued to exist by virtue of fundamental factors, asserting that these relations must continue so they will remain a firm barrier in the face of Israel's schemes to maintain the status quo of the Palestinian economy.

He reminded us of the comprehensive economic agreement concluded between Jordan and the PLO and said, "Creation of the Palestine Company embodies the form of relations toward which we aspire and creates a harmonious reality which Israel cannot infiltrate."

Al-'Anani noted that Jordan's and Palestine's private sectors are capable of being pioneers and foresighted initiative-makers that play a role in building the Palestinian economy and in turning it into a bridge for greater Arab unity.

#### More Important Event

Abu-al-'Ala', who delivered an address on behalf of Palestinian Chairman Yasir 'Arafat, considered the foundation of the Palestine Company as the most important event since conclusion of the Declaration of Principles in Washington.

He said that this private sector initiative will have a great impact on economic and social development activities in the Palestinian homeland. It will also have the greatest impact in preparing and revitalizing the Palestinian private sector at home and abroad to play a role in and to contribute to the development activities. Abu-al-'Ala' asserted that this good initiative will receive full support and backing from the Palestinian authority and its institutions and from the Palestinian people's institutions inside and outside the occupied homeland.

He added that the size of the challenges facing Palestinians in the coming phase is only matched by the size of the hopes and expectations. He said that these challenges are the challenges to build institutions of civilization on the ground according to the most modern principles and to create a system that embraces democracy and plurality as its path and joint economic development and growth as its course. Moreover, these challenges are also challenges of the ability to ensure stability and security.

Abu-'Ala' summed up the goals and priorities of development in Palestine, saying that they must be designed to befit the conditions of a people who have experienced and who continue to experience great hardship as a result of the hateful occupation. They must also be designed to befit a totally new political entity that is in the phase of creation. These goals seek to:

- Correct the distortions, flaws, and bottlenecks experienced by the Palestinian economy as a result of the occupation and of its actions.
- Expand and improve the infrastructure.
- Create work opportunities to absorb the unemployed.
- Encourage export and foreign currency generating sectors.
- Work to meet the Palestinian people's basic needs.
- Gain and resettle an effective technological capability, considering that education, teaching, and training are three meshed priorities.
- Encourage the private sector and open the door for it to participate in all branches of construction and development and to contribute promptly to the construction of 185,000 housing units in order to meet the shortage in the housing area and to absorb repatriates.
- Seek equality and balance between men and women and between the various districts and social and economic groups.

Regarding the development strategies for Palestine, Abu-'Ala' said that they must achieve balance between agriculture and industry, exports and imports. They must also make maximum use of land and water; must strengthen bonds and interaction between the various sectors; must select the appropriate technology for all branches of the economy; and must set up the institutions, centers, and frameworks that support economic activity. The strategies must, moreover, mobilize the resources and capabilities of the diaspora Palestinians; must attract financial, investment, and technological, educational, and administrative aid; must strengthen self-reliance within the framework of collective (i.e., Arab) reliance, without retreating into a shell; and must benefit from Arab and international aid.

Abu-'Ala' estimated the total investments needed for the Palestinian development program at \$11.6 billion, plus 12 percent to face inflation and 10 percent added to the total as reserves. All of this raises the total amount needed, at 1994 prices, to \$13.4 billion, of which the private sector contributions will constitute nearly 60 percent.

#### Market Economy Is Our Option

Before a crowd of more than 200 businessmen and investors, Abu-'Ala' declared, "We aspire for an economic system that epitomizes the greatest and most successful experiments; achieves justice, prosperity, and constant growth; and releases individual initiative—a system that is founded on frankness, explicitness, openness, and accountability; that benefits from our people's competence and capability; and that always works to develop them.

Abu-al-'Ala' noted that other people's experiences have proved that the rules and laws of the market economy are the best motivators of people's economies and capabilities and are the most successful in economic growth and development processes.



Concluding, Abu-al-'Ala' asserted that the Palestine Investment Company [Palestine Development and Investment Company] initiative will have an important role in the construction and development activities and in motivating the Palestinian, Arab, and international private sector to invest in Palestine. Through interaction with the Palestinian national authority, the company will play an important role that benefits this authority.

#### **Correction of Historical Flaw**

Munib al-Misri, a major shareholder and a constituent committee member, said that the idea of founding the Palestine Investment Company with a capital of 200 million dinars [currency as published] was developed nearly a year ago with brothers from Palestine. He asserted that the company will participate in Arab-Palestinian firms that will be founded in the Palestinian lands to play an effective role with the private sector in implementing the economic plan. This plan is capable of correcting the flaw that has afflicted the economic structure in recent decades and of reviving the Palestinian economy through the implementation of a large number of economic projects, expected to exceed \$1 billion in value and to have a cumulative effect on the society and the economy. The company will also support the industries that currently exist in Palestine—especially small industries—financially, administratively, and technically.

Munib al-Misri added that the company will encourage the private sector to play its role of supporting and complementing the public sector so as to contribute to building the independent state and to fulfilling our Palestinian people's social and economic development aspirations. The company will also work to improve the investment climate so as to attract Palestinian, Arab, and international capital. A number of factors have been taken into account in designing the company's structure and the structure of the domestic joint-stock subsidiaries emanating from it. These include expanding the participation base to open it to everybody, provided that no one individual investor is allowed to participate with more than 1 percent of the company capital. Foundation of the Palestine Company for Development and Investment and of subsidiaries emanating from it is tantamount to providing practical encouragement to the extensive expertise, capabilities, and economic presence of Palestinian investors in the diaspora and to their Arab brothers, as well as to the brothers inside Palestine.

Munib al-Misri noted that, with the election of the executive board, detailed studies will be completed on a number of important economic projects. The company has conducted preliminary studies on the feasibility of these projects from several aspects. The projects include the construction of housing complexes outside urban areas, each consisting of 1,000 housing units and containing all the necessary utilities. The company has also conducted studies to make a determination on basic industrial projects. To be feasible, these projects have to

be generally beneficial to a large number of citizens and free of market risks because they are basic projects.

Concluding, al-Misri noted that the citizen is the true wealth. He praised the Palestinian people's capabilities and sacrifices, saying that if high capabilities are utilized well in the construction and production process they will provide bright opportunities and economic future. He asserted that the private sector can accomplish this goal, considering that this sector has proved under the most difficult circumstances that it is the forerunner in taking the initiative and that it is creative and innovative.

#### **Entrenchment of Jerusalem's Arabism**

Faysal al-Husayni, head of the steering committee of the Palestinian delegation to the peace negotiations, delivered Jerusalem's address. He asserted: "We are convinced that it is possible to get Gaza with or without negotiations. The West Bank can be gotten with negotiations. As for Jerusalem, it will not be available with negotiations alone but rather with negotiations and with a fait accompli."

He added: "To win the Jerusalem battle, we are required to establish in our conscience and in the consciences of the Israelis and the world that Jerusalem is Arab and the capital of the State of Palestine. It will be won with a religious fait accompli or with a political and economic fait accompli."

Al-Husayni warned of the swift steps being taken by the Israelis in an attempt to isolate Jerusalem, saying, "Despite our difficult circumstances and weakness, we were able in 1967 to impose certain important things, such as administration of al-Aqsa Mosque, religious courts, and religious trusts. All are managed by an Arab, not Israeli, presence. [passage unintelligible]."

Al-Husayni renewed the call to Palestinian businessmen and investors to revive the plan for an international investment conference in Jerusalem so as to bolster the Arab-Palestinian reality in Jerusalem and to implant in the mind of the world and of the Israelis that this Jerusalem is the capital of Palestine and so as not to leave to the Israelis the task of organizing international meetings and symposiums on Jerusalem's soil.

#### **Company Is Tantamount to Accepting Challenge**

In his capacity as a founder, Khaldun Abu-Hassan, chairman of the Amman Chamber of Industry, said before businessmen and the constituent assembly of the Palestine Company for Development and Investment: "It is our duty in this homeland to take the initiative and to roll up our sleeves so we will be the vanguard in rebuilding the wounded Palestine." He added: "You are the elite, not just with your economic expertise but also with your noble character, your firm patriotism, and your true zeal to employ your capabilities in order to set up an Arab organization that is prepared and eligible to build and to develop on firm and solid bases."

Abu-Hassan further added, "After considering the goals, means, and methods carefully, we decided to establish the Palestine Company for Development and Investment as a holding company so it will form an effective factor that turns the wheel of development and accepts the challenge of rebuilding the Palestinian economy and of mending the wide fissure that has developed in the Palestinian economic structure as a result of occupation throughout recent decades. This occupation has destroyed the production installations, structure, and utilities, and whatever pertains to them." He also said, "By coming forth to establish this company, we direct our attention at the sacred goal of reviving constructive life in the Palestinian citizen on the Palestinian soil. Through this company, we seek to create an investment climate in the areas of industry, tourism, food production, and of other projects that produce and create work opportunities; that meet the citizen's needs; and that enhance his standard of living."

#### Uniting Goal and Interest

Kamal Hassunah, general director of the Palestinian Pioneers Establishment and a constituent assembly member, presented a quick review of the Palestinian investment horizons. He said that the 1990s have experienced fundamental developments that are still affecting the entire world, including collapse of the Soviet Union, unification of the two Germanies, the Gulf war, the Middle East peace plans, and economic developments toward bloc formation, such as the American NAFTA, the European Common Market, the Asian Tigers, and others.

Hassunah said that these immense and unprecedented developments "have imposed enormous challenges also. To confront this new reality, where do we stand vis-a-vis these developments and changes? Does the Arab environment promote change and development?"

He stressed that many things depend on this review, most significantly the increased chances for success of big companies and the exposure of small and medium companies to losses or risks of losses if they fail to unite in the next five or 10 years in order to adapt to the international economic developments.

Hassunah said that if normal circumstances are made available to Palestinians, then "we are capable of succeeding in the development process through fruitful cooperation between the interior and the diaspora, by uniting in common goal and interest after a long absence of more than 40 years in the diaspora, and by bolstering the confidence and inspired spirit of the Palestinians at home."

The constituent assembly of the Palestine Company for Development and Investment elected a 16-member executive board. This board held its first meeting and elected Dr. Kamal al-Sha'ir as chairman, Munib al-Misri as deputy chairman, and Nabil al-Sarraf as secretary. The executive board has been formed of the following:

A member representing the Arab Bank; a member representing the Cairo-Amman Bank; a member representing the Housing Bank; a representative of the Engineering House Company, namely Dr. Kamal al-Sha'ir; a member representing al-Masirah Investment Company; a member representing al-Sa'id Company; Husayn al-Sharqawi; Khaldun Abu-Hassan; Riyadh Sadiq; Ramzi Dalul; Zahi Khuri; 'Azmi 'Abd-al-Hadi; Munib al-Misri; Nabil al-Sarraf; Nabil al-Shawwa; and Nidhal Sakhiyan.

#### Internal, External Hamas Dichotomy

94AF0190C Jerusalem AL-MANAR in Arabic  
11 Apr 94 p 4

[Article by Haytham Rashid: "Internal Hamas and External Hamas"]

[Excerpt] An examination of the position of Hamas toward the peace process shows clearly that there are some differences between Hamas' comprehensive position abroad and Hamas' position inside Palestine. These differences are evident in the tone with which the peace process is "rejected."

In the dialect of the entire external Hamas, rejection surfaces firmly and strongly. Rather, this tone harbors within its folds the features of a warning to the process supporters, whereas the tone of internal Hamas is characterized by moderation and projected with a sportsman-like spirit.

The question that may occur to observers is: Is this difference a sign of a hidden and concealed split between Hamas' internal and external wings, or is it tantamount to a well-studied tactic that serves a specific purpose in the rhetoric with which the masses are addressed.

To dot the i's and cross the t's, one must note the surprise which has resurfaced among observers now that the internal Hamas has clung to the principle of democratic opposition to the accord, declaring explicitly that its opposition has its redline, which is not to let opposition reach the point of internecine fighting and the use of violence between Palestinians. This surprise emanates from the fact that even before the peace process, violent opposition and clashes occurred because of issues much less significant than the process.

The answer to this particular surprise leads to a basic fact, namely that the internal Hamas is fully aware of the proverb that, "He who receives the lashes is not like him who counts them." What this means is that even though the internal Hamas is in full agreement with the strategic position of the external Hamas, the former sees, with its awareness of the Palestinian people's real situation, that the "pain here is very great" and that the "majority of the Palestinian people," like Hamas, want their full rights. However, the people realize that within the given facts of the situation, it is impossible to attain this goal within the foreseeable future.

It is certain that the people of the internal Hamas have developed the conviction that they, like all other Palestinians, are Palestinian in pain and hardship and that, simultaneously, they are Hamas people who, like all other Hamas people, cling to Hamas' strategy. This means that the internal Hamas realizes that the Palestinian people must not be pushed to the point of suicide and extinction and that, if there is a chance for ways of surviving the stormy sea of annihilation, then one must cling to them. I believe that with this move, Hamas adheres to its Palestinianism. Simultaneously, Hamas is fully eager to cling, along with its people, to the means of survival (the process), but without declaring that it is accountable for what follows. With this move, the internal Hamas maintains its lines of communication with the comprehensive Hamas strategy.

One cannot interpret this position as being the result of Hamas' splitting into two parts. Rather, one can interpret it as part of the phenomenon of unity of the Palestinians on the need to preserve their survival as a people. The internal Hamas that is opposed to the accord, like the side that supports it, agrees that the Oslo solution erodes numerous Palestinian constants. However, it is certain that the Palestinian people at home want a break:

This position by Hamas toward the entire Palestinian situation, Hamas' adoption of a sportsman-like spirit in opposition, and its decision to avoid internecine fighting among Palestinians, all will leave their imprint on the future of the coming Palestinian entity, meaning that the internal Hamas will include preserving the Palestinian people's survival as a priority in its agenda. This question of keeping the Palestinian people within the bounds of the possible is some sort of a bond which, in my opinion, will enhance the Palestinian people's chance to prove to the world that they are capable of building a state, which is one of their rights in the first place.

A meaningful summary of all we have said is that the hand of the internal Hamas, like that of Palestinians, is in the fire. The more Hamas crystallizes this fact in positions reflecting a sportsman-like spirit, the closer it will find itself to others, even to those who support the settlement, because [passage omitted, article incomplete]

## EGYPT

### Events in Antiterrorist Program Reviewed

94LD00531 London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic  
6 May 94 pp 39, 43

[Text] How well Egyptian security has done, after they began to understand the basic fact that they were facing an enemy who should not be taken lightly. The enemy is not a bunch of crooks or fools, but rather it is a group of organizations that plan and execute and are trained to kill, use explosives, and assassinate. How well Major

General Hassan al-Alfi, Egypt's minister of the interior, has done when he recently announced the discovery of a dangerous terrorist organization.

Following the murder of one of the important major generals, Ra'uf Khayrat, the deputy chief of state security and, for many years, the man responsible for counter-terrorist activity, rumors and questions spread on Egyptian streets. Questions have been raised about the possibility that the terrorist organizations may have been able to penetrate the security apparatus, especially after Maj. Gen. Ra'uf Khayrat was assassinated. He was not well known to the public, and the thinking was that this was his best protection. No one guarded him, he drove his own car, and he used pseudonyms. He never resided in one place, but moved among several houses that were leased to him.

Thus, a logical question would appear to be: Was the security operation penetrated and information leaked about the movements and life of Maj. Gen. Ra'uf Khayrat, facilitating his surveillance and assassination by brutal means unlike previous assassination operations? Three groups took part, two to do the shooting and a third to throw the bomb to blow up the car to make sure he was dead.

Thus, the only time that Interior Minister Maj. Gen. Hasan al-Alfi became agitated was when he was asked about the extent of penetration of the Interior Ministry's agencies by terrorists. That he was clearly irritated was evident to dozens of media persons who were keen to attend the conference. He said: "Who has penetrated the security operations? Terrorists? Absolutely not! On the contrary, they are the ones that have been penetrated."

The minister did not want mere irritation to be his defense of his security apparatus. On the contrary, he cited facts and figures, pointing out that security had foiled 20 major terrorist operations in 1994 during the last three months. They included a series of violent and destructive acts, as well as the assassination of prominent public figures and innocent bystanders. Security was able to capture 43 terrorists, some of whom died in gunfire with security forces. This figure was out of a total of 52 terrorists on the wanted list—an over-82-percent success rate.

Therefore, the minister's numbers refute any possibility of security's penetration by terrorists. One could understand the assassination of Maj. Gen. Ra'uf Khayrat within the context of—if he was not well known to the public, the terrorist groups and all religious leaders knew the man well. Despite the fact that his role was to monitor these groups and devise strategies to counter them over the past few years, knowing and watching him would not be difficult for those who are sympathetic to the terrorists, or for those who are a part of the religious trend in Egypt.

Moreover, Maj. Gen. Ra'uf Khayrat's methods and view of protection might have made it easy for terrorists to hunt him. In addition, his assassination was a reprisal for the latest operation he planned and carried out, which



was to arrest the most dangerous terrorist organization. So far, 30 of its members have been arrested.

The minister of interior had the opportunity to delay the announcement concerning this organization, while waiting for security to complete their investigation of the events surrounding Maj. Gen. Ra'uf Khayat's assassination. Moreover, the minister did not need to make this announcement, [after] the Egyptian People's Assembly enacted the Emergency Law, which allows security to speed up actions against terrorism. However, the haste in holding the conference and revealing this organization, in the first place, was to refute the rumors on the Egyptian scene regarding the possibility that terrorist groups had penetrated the security apparatus.

As for the latest terrorist organization, described by Maj. Gen. Hasan al-Alfi as "extremely dangerous," the facts confirm that, by security being able to uncover it, security will have achieved an "important point" in its constant battle with extremist groups over the years. There is considerable evidence for that:

1. There is evidence pertaining to the leader of the organization, 'Adil Siyam, who was killed during the attempt to arrest him on 4 April 1994, and who was described as being a "dangerous element." He was the deputy of Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri, head of the Jihad Organization abroad. He was responsible for the organization's operations inside Egypt. He had planned to assassinate Minister of Interior Maj. Gen. Hasan al-Alfi. He prepared the personnel for the ambush and persuaded one of the participants in the crime to carry out the suicide bombing mission (Diya'-al-Din Mahmud Hafiz). He was the one who planned to assassinate Prime Minister Dr. 'Atif Sidqi, Minister of Information Safwat al-Sharif, and UN Secretary General Dr. Butrus-Ghali, during his participation in the African Summit Conference in Cairo last summer.

According to unconfirmed press sources, i.e., security information, Siyam was responsible for a bold operation by digging up Salah Salim Road. This is one of the most important main roads in Egypt. It is 12 meters wide in a specific area. It was chosen carefully to be a fixed center for an explosion, preparatory to a terrorist operation being planned. In fact, 12 of the organization's personnel, dressed in municipal workers uniforms, dug up the street, laid electrical cables under it, and then concealed it. They had therefore prepared a fixed spot, so as to target any official who passed through this street. They are numerous. Cellars were also found underground in nine locations belonging to the organization, used as storage areas for weapons and as places to hide any victims who might be abducted. In addition, there were places to create a "special atmosphere" for those tasked with suicide missions. This is what happened with those who attempted to assassinate Maj. Gen. Hasan al-Alfi—they became victims of their crime. They were Nazih Nashi Rashid and Diya'-al-Din Mahmud Hafiz.

In addition to all that, 'Adil Siyam planned to assassinate Sayyid Abu-Yahya, the primary witness in the case of the attempted assassination of Prime Minister Dr. 'Atif Sidqi, the night before the trial was to begin.

Because of all this, it was not odd for Maj. Gen. Hasan al-Alfi to describe him as "one of the most dangerous terrorists that I have seen during the last few years of combatting terrorism."

2. There is evidence relating to the huge quantity of arms seized from the organization, when security forces simultaneously raided nine places in several governorates. This can be summarized as follows:

- Thirty members of the terrorist organization were captured. Their names have not been announced, because there are others still being hunted.
- Amounts of money valued at \$7,000, 3,000 pounds sterling, and 9,000 Egyptian pounds.
- Guns, including two automatic rifles, one Israeli-manufactured 'Uzi machine gun, six pistols, 17 magazines for automatic weapons, various pistols, 583 rounds of 9-mm ammunition, three RPG shells, three silencers, and a large quantity of detonators.
- 335 bombs of various types, explosive materials and explosive devices, including 5,000 detonators, 100 kilograms of high explosive material, sulfuric and nitrate acid, ammonia nitrate mercury, chlorine, ammonia salts, 150 kilograms of gelignite powder, and 150 kilograms of nitrite powder, which is the strongest form of dynamite.
- A large quantity of materials and equipment required to make explosives.
- A tricycle vehicle used as a deceptive trap, three radio sets, two wireless telephones, and magnets to attach explosives under vehicles.
- Organizational papers and documents, including information about the security of installations and personnel, and ways of manufacturing explosives and deceptive traps.
- A list of targeted persons, various organizational charts, and the organization's private code, in addition to receipts for the transmittal of foreign currencies abroad.
- Large quantities of various uniforms, including policemen and armed forces, and a large amount of officers' rank emblems.
- A Yemeni passport for the number one suspect 'Adil 'Awad Siyam.
- Various types of private vehicles, including cars used in the incidents that the terrorist organization personnel confessed to committing.

Therefore, all these weapons and explosives seized with the organization are some of the evidence regarding the extent of this organization's dangerousness. Minister of Interior Maj. Gen. Hasan al-Alfi declared that this organization was responsible for the assassination of Sayyid Ahmad Abu-Yahya the primary witness

regarding the failed attempt to assassinate Prime Minister Dr. 'Atif Sidqi on 4 February 1994. The weapons used in that incident have been seized.

Maj. Gen. Hasan al-Alfi also confirmed that this organization attempted to assassinate the minister of interior on 18 August 1993 and detonated the explosive charge that blew up the al-Jazirah Youth Center on 13 July 1993, during their physical fitness training. In addition, there was the assassination of a member of an off-shoot organization, 'Adil Anwar al-Sayyid, in front of his home on 13 July 1993.

The minister was content to report on these operations carried out by this organization and did not mention other operations, which had been foiled in one way or another, to assassinate prominent public, political, executive, media, judicial, and military figures by means of blowing up booby-trapped vehicles. These persons include Prime Minister Dr. 'Atif Sidqi; Fathi Surur, speaker of the People's Assembly; Interior Minister Maj. Gen. Hasan al-Alfi; and former ministers of interior, 'Abd-al-Halim Musa and Zaki Badr. Among the military officers are Maj. Gen. Ahmad 'Abdallah, chief of the Supreme Military Court; Maj. Gen. Wajdi al-Laythi, also of Military Justice; and the former head of State Security secret police, Maj. Gen. Mustafa 'Abd-al-Qadir.

Thus a round has ended, but not the battle. It is constantly escalating and taking on new dimensions, especially since official Egypt has abandoned playing down the phenomenon of terrorism and no longer holds terrorists in contempt or downgrades their danger. Interior Minister Maj. Gen. Hasan al-Alfi stated to the People's Assembly that during the past three years there have been 14 explosions in public places, resulting in 97 Egyptian deaths, including children. Extremists also hit 35 tourist targets, either buses carrying tourists or boats on the Nile. This resulted in the deaths of 12 tourists and the wounding of 50 more. In addition, there were eight explosions in banks.

Statistics prepared by the Ibn Khaldun Institute for Developmental Studies indicate the extent of the escalation of violence during 1992 and 1993. The statistics show that police victims totalled 23 in 1992 with 38 wounded, while terrorists killed were 39, with 83 wounded. Civilian totals were 32 and 107 respectively. Therefore, total deaths in 1992 were 94, with 228 wounded, a total of 322. The number of extremists arrested were 3,645, along with 128 civilians. The figures were multiplied in 1993. Police deaths reached 120, with 181 wounded. Extremists had 111 deaths and 252 wounded, while civilians totalled 101 with 341 wounded. Total victims were 1,106, with 17,191 terrorists and 594 civilians arrested.

The security strategy that was decided upon during Maj. Gen. Hasan al-Alfi's term calls for gradual escalation by expanding the area of confrontation with all terrorist elements, in order to abort terrorism, pluck out its roots, and liquidate all the elements of impetus that stand

behind it, supporting it, and financing it both at home and abroad. I have enumerated the forms of confrontation with certain of their basic features:

- Contacts with a large number of world nations to hand over persons against whom sentences for terrorist acts have been issued. The latest measure in this regard was the signing of a security agreement with Pakistan, during the visit of the Pakistani minister of justice to Cairo two weeks ago. This agreement stipulates the handing over of Afghan Egyptians who are still in Peshawar, or in any Pakistan city. This has also been done with several other countries. Egypt intends to broach the issue of international cooperation to end terrorism at the Interpol Conference, which will be held in Turkey soon.
- Revealing the ugly face of terrorism by presenting former terrorists to declare their repentance to public opinion via the media. This experiment was successful with one of the "al-Shuqiyin" group, 'Adil 'Abd-al-Mun'im. There are others that could be presented, including women, such as the wife of the terrorist Tharwat Hajjaj, who was killed in a battle with police several weeks ago.
- Adopting the principle of taking the initiative against and aborting terrorism, by means of modernizing and updating data pertaining to terrorist organizations and supplying the police with the most modern arms and equipment, to enable them to combat terrorists.
- Allowing opportunities for repentance to those from terrorist organizations who wish to do so, especially in the towns of Upper Egypt, and solve any problems that they face, either in finding them jobs or other matters, so long as the repenter was not convicted in terrorist operations against the police.

This policy has proved its worth, on the evidence of large numbers of repenters. In addition, certain Jihad leaders have backed away from their political views. One of them is Hasan al-Hilawi, an important and long-time leader of the Jihad organization, who has begun to call for self-control, an end to violence, to throw down weapons, and a dialogue with the government. He issued a fatwah to the effect that it was not permissible to oust the ruler or to create groups that defy public order. This policy has been successful to a degree that has caused certain lawyers representing them, especially the lawyer Muntasir al-Zayyat, to ask for dialogue with the government. However, the government rejected this request, and Maj. Gen. Hasan al-Alfi stated, "We will not negotiate with killers and criminals."

The most recent major blow came last week, when security forces were able to kill Tal'at Yasin Hiram, leader of the Islamic Group's military wing, who led the operation that resulted in the death of Maj. Gen. Ra'uf Khayat. Hiram died in a battle with security forces in the Hada'iq al-Qubbah district.

The security apparatus considered Hiram a most dangerous terrorist and had sentenced him to death in absentia in the Afghan case. That proves the security

forces' success in penetrating terrorist organizations, since they learned Himam's hiding place and the whereabouts of the headquarters for organization meetings.

### Strategy to Control Shantytowns Explained

94LD0056A Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 28 Apr 94 p 3

[Article by 'Abd-al-Muhsin Salamah: "Plan to Control Shantytowns Evaluated; Two Stages of Development Completed in 11 Governorates; Further Shantytown Development Requires 3.5 Billion Pounds in Total Allocations"]

[Text] With the completion of the third stage of shantytown action in the various governorates, it would be useful to pause in order to evaluate the plan to control shantytowns and determine whether it has been successful. How well did the governorates implement their shantytown control plans? What difficulties did they encounter?

Shantytowns are largely found in 11 Egyptian governorates but are at a maximum concentration in Cairo, Giza, al-Qalyubiyah, and Alexandria. There are 434 shantytowns throughout the governorates. They need 3.485 billion pounds even though 290 million pounds was expended on the first stage of improvements and enhancements. The second stage has been allocated an additional 183.9 million pounds in the current fiscal year

Cairo accounted for the lion's share of total expended allocations. Expenditures on the first stage alone amounted to 10 million pounds in addition to 50 million pounds in the current fiscal year.

### 84 Percent

The Ministry of Local Administration conducted a performance evaluation of the first stage of the shantytown action plan in order to improve the efficacy of subsequent stages of development and to overcome obstacles encountered in removing the shantytowns.

The focus of the Cairo governorate in the first stage was on zones fraught with tension, specifically al-Zawiyah al-Hamra' and 'Ayn Shams. The first stage of allocations of 10 million pounds were spent on sewers and street paving.

In 'Ayn Shams, 13 streets were paved and the water system was improved. Needed cleaning and beautification equipment was also purchased.

Al-Zawiyah al-Hamra' had its main streets and lanes paved, its sewer system completed, and its water system overhauled. In addition, cleaning equipment was purchased and al-Zawiyah al-Hamra' hospital was refurbished.

The first stage of shantytown development in Cairo accomplished 84 percent of its goals and expended 8.4 million pounds of its total allocation.

### Self-Help

Al-Qalyubiyah, according to a Ministry of Local Administration report, achieved 100 percent of planned objectives and expended all its development allocations on street paving, sanitary sewers, and potable water systems in its various towns.

Al-Qalyubiyah began shantytown development on its own, according to its governor Dr. 'Adil Ilhami, by allocating 10 million pounds of its local resources to deal with the problem, resolve the predicament of shantytown residents by providing them with alternative housing, and develop existing shantytowns in 'Izbat-al-Zira'ah, Manshiyat-al-Nur, Tarrad al-Nil, and Shubrah-al-Khaymah. After the shantytowns were surveyed and a plan devised for their development, they were allocated a two-tier allotment of 27.5 million pounds supplemented by an additional allocation of 4.5 million pounds under the governorate's emergency plan to initiate shantytown control—a plan approved by the Ministry of Local Administration.

The governor pointed out that the emergency plan was fully implemented in all the shantytowns of its various towns, but that still to be completed is the governorate's comprehensive plan, once the shantytowns are surveyed and their needs for projects and services ascertained. This comprehensive plan is to cost about 279 million pounds for school and hospital construction, street paving, sewer systems, electric grid projects, and other basic services in the deprived areas.

The governor explained that it will take 18 additional shantytown schools to solve the three-shift problem in certain areas. More police stations and youth centers also need to be built, he added.

Ten million pounds were allocated for the first stage of shantytown development in Alexandria governorate, of which 86 percent, or 8.645 million pounds, has been actually spent on development.

Shantytown development in Alexandria targeted street paving and sewer projects. Five million pounds were spent on paving and the remaining 3.645 million pounds went to sanitary sewer projects.

### Before the Assembly

The Housing Committee of the People's Assembly, in order to field monitor shantytown development, visited some of the governorates afflicted with shantytowns in order to evaluate the progress of the work in the field, ascertain the objectives accomplished, and prepare for the Assembly a special report on the government's shantytown development plan, according to Housing Committee chairman al-Sayyid Sarhan.

The Committee noted that shantytowns continue to spring up and grow, laying to waste all efforts expended on that problem. This is attributed to development-stunting "bureaucracies" in the governorates, lofty fees and costs for approved land divisions, and the failure of

certain towns over 60 or more years to modify their perimeters in accordance with their natural expansion.

The Committee chairman emphasized that new housing divisions should take the form of urban communities in the sense that they should be complete with the basic services that their residents need, such as schools, hospitals, and police and fire stations. Only when such facilities are planned should a division be approved and issued its permit by the authorities.

It is also necessary, he added, to protect state-owned land from squatters in order to ward off the formation of new shantytowns. State-owned land should be used for building planned urban housing communities that would be self-sufficient in public services and utilities.

#### Support by the State

He said: "It is mandatory for the state to prevent the formation of any more shantytowns. It is obvious that those communities sprang up under the noses of various state agencies which lacked the wherewithal to do something about them. It is important to ward off future shantytown formation by supporting local governments and other agencies that could play a role in challenging them."

I asked him: "How about the shantytowns that must be removed?"

He answered: "The Committee visited a few of those. They will never respond to development and improvement efforts and need to be totally removed. However, we must first provide their residents with alternate housing. We may be able to accommodate them in vacant housing units in new communities and build them integrated communities there."

"Land reclaimed from shantytowns could be incorporated in local city planning and utilized in accordance with city needs in a manner that would prevent them from supporting shantytowns again."

The Housing Committee concluded in its report that local governments and the Ministry of Public Works and Water Resources should coordinate with each other in order to prevent the formation of new shantytowns in susceptible locations such as canal and river banks, under bridge superstructures, and along major roads. The Committee also underscored the value of reducing costs and easing permit requirements for new land developments as part of orderly urban development in the cities.

#### An End to Shantytowns

Dr. Mahmud Sharif, Minister of Local Administration, believes that rural areas must be developed and helped to grow in order to ward off the formation of new shantytowns by containing outward migration. He also believes that planning should out-pace shantytowns by developing new plots suitable for residential use and selling them to individuals and cooperatives, and by coming

down hard on building code, zoning, and city planning violations. There must be coordination in that regard between local governments and various agencies of the Ministry in order to quickly spot the violations and remove them.

He pointed out that the Ministry has set priorities in approaching the problem since it would be difficult to deal all at once with all shantytowns throughout the governorates. Topping the list of priorities are Greater Cairo and Alexandria as well as nine other governorates in Upper Egypt. Shantytowns in the 11 governorates have been surveyed and the cost of their development estimated at 3.48 billion pounds. The governorates have proffered projects that are already planned and therefore could be tendered in two months. Outlays of 106 million pounds have been allocated for this stage and the governorates have selected projects that could be completed during the current fiscal year. This puts shantytown development allocations at 290 million pounds so far.

Requests from the governorates for the cleaning equipment they need are being received and reconciled as to costs and specifications. This equipment, estimated to cost 162 million pounds, will be supplied in two stages. Equipment supplied in the first stage will cost 51.9 million pounds.

#### Grassroots Solutions

Minister Mahmud Sharif emphasized that only with grassroots participation can the shantytown problem be resolved once and for all. He cites the good example of al-Nahdah City which absorbed a large number of quake and shantytown victims and where The Red Crescent Society implemented a specific plan to involve inhabitants in the management of their city. Each apartment building elects one of its tenants to represent it, and five such representatives are elected to represent all residents on the city's administrative council. This indicates that it is possible to modify citizen behavior and to implant the values of respect for public property and interest in the environment as well as develop neighborliness and the spirit of belonging.

Several agencies helped with that plan in cooperation with UNICEF. Preliminary results are very encouraging.

The Ministry is reinforcing that experiment by introducing a new plan to help alleviate unemployment in that society by training youths in the various trades and giving them preference in obtaining small business financing from the Social Fund and others.

#### Study of Satellite TV Use Appears

94LD0055A Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 4 May 94 p 7

[Article by Ayman al-Mahdi: "Story of the Dish in Egypt"]

[Text] While Damietta Governorate cars were cruising the streets asking citizens not to use direct-reception



antennas ("the dish") to receive foreign television programs. Cairo's Muhandisin district was witnessing the publication of a special magazine carrying the schedules for satellite dish channels. The magazine's owners (a businessman and his wife) listed the times of programs that their children and those of the neighbors could see. They decided not to announce other programs that were forbidden.

The magazine was intended to be an alternative solution making it finally unnecessary to ask the businessman and his wife for an opinion about the dish.

The satellite dish has become a phenomenon and a power statement from its microphones—magazines are published for similar objectives. Now that its merchandize, alien to the taste and values of our community, is in demand, a period of vigorous debate has begun between two groups—one of them for the dish, the other against it.

Amid these noisy discussions, Dr. Inshirah al-Shal of Cairo University's Faculty of Information, was preparing Egypt's first scientific field study of the reasons for owning a dish antenna, the effect that interest in watching its programs was having on the following of Egyptian television programs and the viewing of videotaped materials, and the 173-case sample's conviction about spreading the idea of watching programs from abroad after their having undergone this experience.

In the early eighties the first bowl-shaped antenna ("dish") appeared in the Cairo skies—in Garden City, to be exact—to carry news messages at the American Embassy. Antennas began to spread afterward on the roofs of buildings.

Although the dish made its first appearance in the world at the beginning of the sixties, it entered Egypt at the citizen level only nine years ago. It used to be smuggled through the airports and ports disassembled, until its importation became legal—provided that the diameter of the dish does not exceed 2.4 meters. Artists, businessmen, major personalities, and foreign communities became its most prominent customers. Despite its high price during this period (about \$30,000), the large-diameter American product dominated the market.

During the eighties there were only three agencies in Egypt importing the dish, including the Egypt Company for Free Markets. The number of importers had jumped to 59 by the beginning of 1992. The figure rose markedly at the beginning of 1993. Sources of the antennas became numerous, and the price fell after moderately-priced antennas affordable to the ordinary citizen were offered. The Egyptian product entered the scene through factory antennas and investment company antennas.

#### **Authority in the Home**

"Tell me what you watch, and I will tell you who you are."

Dr. Inshirah al-Shal relied on this maxim in her study. For the study she designed a questionnaire form for viewers of overseas channels. Then she assembled the

information in Cairo. Her most important finding was the high ratio of males to females in the study sample—about 5:2, or 71 percent to 29 percent. This means that authority in the Egyptian home still is in the hands of the father, husband, or son—though one should not overlook the content of some incoming programs whose audience may be limited to males, rather than females in Egyptian families.

A difference in ages among members of the sample was also observed; however, the ages of the majority (60 percent of the sample) ranged between 19 and 40. This means that receiving overseas programs by satellite dish is widespread in age groups most of which qualify as youthful.

#### **Diploma Holders, Married People**

The study also indicated that when the data for the sample were examined for educational level, one noted that about 75 percent of the individuals had obtained a university diploma (bachelor of arts or of science). Some had obtained a master's or doctorate. Cases that were below the bachelor's level in the study sample amounted to 16 percent, and they were students.

It turned out that 57 percent of the sample were married and 34 percent unmarried. One could also see that most of the individuals in the sample had excellent or good English (86 percent). Knowledge of French ran a distant second (39 percent). This means, according to Dr. Inshirah al-Shal, that the ability to follow programs from overseas and understand their content depends on the language in which these programs are created. This is true for the time being, but it will soon be possible for the audience to choose the language in which it wants to receive and view these programs.

The study indicated that Muhandisin, Madinat Nasr, and Heliopolis were the areas with the most satellite dishes. Al-Muqattam, al-Manyal, and Hulwan came at the bottom of the list.

The study showed that businessmen (28 percent) were most numerous among dish owners. Government employees (25 percent) were in second place. The ratio of government employees to professionals was about 2:1. This result indicates that satellite dish ownership depends on economic and educational level.

The study recorded the phenomenon of several families in a building or limited area sharing one central satellite dish.

#### **Neighbors the Reason**

The study was not without its novel side. One group in the sample (7 percent) reported that the reason for their owning the dish had to do with the neighbors. Five percent said it was friends, while 64 percent said it was a husband or father

As for the real reasons for obtaining the dish, the survey showed that 26 percent of the individuals surveyed wanted to know what is happening abroad. This applied particularly to members of the political corps and big businessmen. About 24 percent wanted to see good programs. Some individuals from the latter group said they were tired of Egyptian television, which has become very poor and very local and does not even broadcast programs at their announced times. One individual said he wanted to know what was going on abroad and at home as soon as it happened.

A group in the sample reported that they had bought the dish because it was a new entertainment device for adults and children alike.

Accordingly, one can summarize the reasons for owning a satellite dish under two headings: first, because it is a piece of modern technology and (as one of the members of the sample said) one should not deprive one's family of something new. Thirty-one percent of the sample agreed.

The second reason has to do with content. As a group of sampled individuals said, it was "to watch programs that the censorship will not allow in Egypt," or "to continue watching programs they became accustomed to watching while abroad," or "to know what is happening abroad," or "to improve one's knowledge of a foreign language," or "as an alternative to boring Egyptian television." Sixty-nine percent of the individuals in the sample cited such reasons.

#### Chance for Improvement

Although, as Dr. Inshirah al-Shal says, this result is clear, it gives the impression that there still is a chance for Egyptian television to assert its presence by improving the level of its programs so that the rug is not pulled out from under it irrevocably.

It was therefore necessary to ask: To what extent were people satisfied with the dish after a period of contact and experience with it?

The result was that 45 percent were very satisfied and would encourage its spread; 22 percent were very satisfied, but would not encourage its spread; 28 percent were somewhat satisfied; 3 percent were dissatisfied personally; about 7 percent were dissatisfied and would oppose its entry into the Egyptian home; and about 2 percent did not respond.

It was also necessary to determine the relation between watching overseas programs by satellite dish and watching Egyptian television programs. The result was that 59 percent of the individuals in the study sample watch Egyptian television. Thirty-seven percent responded "sometimes." About 2 percent do not watch it, and 2 percent did not respond.

As for the amount of Egyptian television viewed by satellite dish owners, the study showed that 19 percent of

them watch it only rarely; 12 percent watch it less than an hour a day; 25 percent watch it from one to two hours; and 29 percent watch it from two to three hours.

#### Superchannel—Number 1

There were several surprises in the order of overseas channels favored by Egyptian viewers who own a satellite dish. The British Superchannel occupied the top of the list. Next came CNN, but with the Superchannel leading 3 to 1. Then came Euronews, the European news channel that began broadcasting at the end of 1992 to maintain a balance after CNN began sweeping the world's television screens during the Gulf war.

The French, Italian, Israeli, German, and Spanish channels came next. The Turkish channel was in sixth place, before the German channel and after the Israeli channel. The Arab channels came in eighth place. The sample members set the MBC [Middle East Broadcasting Center] channels in first place, followed by the Egyptian Space Channel, then the Tunisian, Moroccan, Emirate, Saudi, and Dubayy channels.

These channels have influenced the viewing of videotapes by members of the sample. While 20 percent are keen on watching them, and 50 percent said they sometimes watched them, 20 percent of the members of the sample do not watch them at all. Their reasons can be summed up as lack of time, preference for watching television programs from other countries, or lack of interest.

#### Most Important Points

The most important point the study raised was the acknowledgment by 80 percent of the members of the sample that watching satellite dish channels indeed influences the viewing of Egyptian television. Seventeen percent denied any influence.

An important question arises: Is there a negative relation between openness to the world—interest in watching others' programs—and interest in our domestic problems?

Dr. Inshirah al-Shal, professor in Cairo University's Faculty of Information, a specialist in literature and the humanities, says that the question needs to be studied more deeply. Foreign television programs have created so-called "world stars" on the political and artistic level; they could also—herein lies the danger—create "the international child." This is what leads us to demand that thorough studies be made to research the effects of watching programs coming to Egyptian television screens from abroad by various means. From such programs may come a desire to emigrate, apathy, a feeling of alienation, or enlistment under the banner of groups alien to the values, customs, and traditions of the community.

We too ask for interest in such a study, for more such studies, and for implementation of their recommendations before it is too late.

### **Government Urged Not To Interfere in Judicial System**

94LD0060C Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 18 Apr 94 p 6

[Article by 'Isamat al-Hawari, lawyer: "There Is No Good in a Nation Whose Judiciary's Independence Is Not Safeguarded"]

[Text] It is a sufficient honor, glory, and tribute for the judicial authority that God's Messenger [Muhammad]—may God bless him and grant him peace—was the first judge in Islam. Likewise, it is a sufficient rank and exaltedness for that authority that the Creator, who is praised and exalted, set judgeship in the place following prophethood.

Thus He says—may He be exalted [Koran 2:213]: "The people were one nation; then God sent forth the Prophets, good tidings to bear and warning, and He sent down with them the Book with the truth, that He might decide between the people touching their differences." He who is exalted has also said [Koran 38:26]: "David, behold, We have appointed thee a viceroy in the earth; therefore judge between men justly, and follow not caprice." What greater and loftier tribute to the judicial authority could there be than that the Creator should set it in a place of elevation and dignity, so that "Just" became one of the God's Names most beautiful?

I should not be overstepping the fact or offending against the truth if I affirmed and averred that the independence of the judicial authority is the sole guarantee that ensures the citizen the justice he seeks, and that through the neutrality and independence of that authority justice is upheld. If affairs of state are managed with justice, the state stands and is upright; but if justice is not maintained in the state, the state endures pains and perishes. Impairment of the judicial authority's independence is impairment of the state's sovereignty that should prevail.

This is a true saying for Egypt and for history. I swear that it is free of any admixture of hypocrisy or flattery; for we have no remnant of life left to play the hypocrite with any creature, however mighty his authority and great his respect. We will hold fast to respect for God; on His strength alone we call for help, and to none but Him do our heads and faces bow. It is a true saying that we all must repeat and affirm, that the judicial authority is the country's inviolable honor. All of us, rulers and ruled, therefore have an obligation to bring about its full and unimpeded independence, so that its agents can perform their duty without fear of tyrant's sword, shunning the wealth of a ruler as wealthy as al-Mu'izz and the most tempting of gifts. This will never come to pass except by freeing the [judicial] authority from subordination to any other authority.

A state that does not preserve the independence of its judicial authority is a state that refuses to uphold justice and makes coercion, force, and tyranny the way of governing. You will find that such a state has lost its way; and having lost its way, it will not bring dignity to its people, because the dignity of the people comes from the dignity of the judicial authority. There is no good in a nation where the independence of the judiciary is not safeguarded.

There is nothing more dangerous for a people's ethics and culture than for the executive authority to interfere in matters of justice or for that authority to impose its tutelage over the judicial authority, so that it impairs the judiciary's independence. The judiciary then becomes subordinate to something else, not to its own conscience. Only the agents of the judiciary, without supervision from any other authority, can administer and uphold justice. We must remember and never forget that when the calamitous massacre of the judiciary took place, it shook the independence of the judiciary. The massacre was really a massacre of the people's rights and freedoms. When the executioners subdued the independence of the judiciary and sent the law on vacation, dens of oppression and power centers arose. Vipers rushed forth to usurp power and assume guardianship over people's livelihoods and resources. They built a spurious empire of Satanic usurpation. They allowed themselves to commit every forbidden act. They froze the people into feudal structures. They created legions of proteges and political adolescents. We must realize and ponder how when the judiciary lost its independence, the people lost their freedom. When the people lost their freedom, proud Egypt lost every war it entered against its enemies. Thus when judicial independence does not exist, it is an enormous wrong against the judiciary itself. Indeed, it is a shameful wrong on the part of whoever impairs that independence. Wrong leads only to wrong; bats multiply in the darkness. Thus there is no room for freedom without the independence of the judiciary; for the citizen's freedom comes from the freedom and independence of his judge. We have already discussed in previous articles how it would be a matter of justice to abolish the Ministry of Justice. That ministry must disappear. Its continued existence is an impairment of the judicial authority's independence. It is the imposition of a hateful tutelage that the executive authority spreads over the judicial authority.

The time has come for us to call on President Mubarak for help—he who is calling for the building of an Egypt of justice and purity, that it may be recorded in the pages of his administration's history that there was no tutelage over the judicial authority, no interference by the executive authority in the administration of justice, and no impairment of the judiciary's independence. No to the existence of the Ministry of Justice! Yes—a thousand times yes—to the Higher Judicial Council, the legitimate father of the agents of the judicial authority and to every matter related to justice in Egypt!



**Delegation Reports on World Bank Negotiations***94LD0057A Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic  
6 May 94 pp 30, 31*

[Article by Majid 'Atiyyah]

[Text] The Egyptian delegation, which included Drs. Kamal al-Janzuri, 'Atif 'Ubayd, and Yusif Butrus Ghali, has returned from extensive negotiations with the World Bank, the IMF, the U.S. Department of Commerce, and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID).

Discussions naturally revolved around the "paper" drafted at the end of last March by Egyptian and World Bank experts and signed for Egypt by Dr. Yusif Butrus Ghali and for the World Bank by Ram Shapra, head of its Middle East Department.

The "paper" is the outcome of an evaluation of the [current] structural reforms. The reforms are undertaken in the context of the second stage of the Economic Reform Program and the Structural Adjustment Program, and the reforms involve the areas of finance, privatization, and the timetable for implementation.

The "paper" contains three major elements—the positive results of the economic reforms program in light of agreed recommendations; defining the issues that should have been already resolved but remain pending; and the actions to be taken by the government this year and through July 1995 when the program expires.

As far as the overall economy is concerned, the "paper" reports that implementation proceeded as planned and achieved tangible results in all aspects of performance and standards through the end of 1993.

The government committed to continue planned fiscal measures intended to reduce the budget deficit to 2.6 percent of GDP by the end of June 1994, and to narrow it even further in the 1994/95 budget.

The government committed to bringing down the rate of inflation from 15 percent in 1992/93 to 7.4 percent by January 1994.

The \$900 million balance of payments surplus realized in the first six months of the year came close to the \$2 billion target for the year.

The report also states that the current account deficit has been reduced at a faster rate than planned. That deficit currently stands at 1.3 percent of GDP.

The Uniform Tax Law has been promulgated in the hopes of improving current budget revenues. The law prevents the double-taxation of corporations and economic activity. It also reduces the burden of those of limited means.

Trimming government subsidies helped contain the growth in public spending and in wages as well as

stabilize investments at the targeted level of 7 percent of GDP. The ceiling for expenditures has been set at 7.2 percent of GDP.

The government has acceded to World Bank recommendations to limit public sector investments to infrastructure projects and leave other investments to the private sector.

Egypt must continue to channel credit to the private sector and to lower interest rates. The latter have indeed dropped in the second half of last year from 15 to 13.4 percent, thereby reducing inflationary pressures.

Exchange rates stabilized at about 3.39 pounds per dollar despite inflows of currencies and remittances. Intervention by the Central Bank helped set that rate.

The government reduced customs duties to a maximum of 70 percent. Other tariffs in the 30 to 40 percent range have been reduced by 10 percent as previously agreed in the program. Duties on capital goods have also been reduced from 10 to five percent.

As a result of government discussions with World Bank experts, a GATT consultant was named to help the government "purge the legislative climate" of anti-dumping policies and to put safe and secure mechanisms in place.

It has also been agreed that the government will introduce into the People's Assembly a bill that would allow foreign companies to engage in foreign trade side by side with domestic export/import firms. The draft-law would abolish all remaining restrictions on private sector trade in cotton and would allow non-Egyptians to engage in the cotton trade on par with Egyptians. It would also allow foreign banks to open on-shore branches and would encourage competition by allowing insurance companies to operate within the country.

It was agreed as well on the need to expedite the introduction into the People's Assembly of a rental housing bill that would abolish all rent controls on new or vacated housing units.

The discussions also touched on the need to lift all restrictions on industrial investments such as eliminating the need to obtain permits from the Investment Authority or the Industrialization Authority in order to construct factories in new communities. The Bank's delegation commended the decision to abolish the prior sanction requirement for investments of 5 million pounds or less. That ceiling has been raised to 10 billion pounds under the decree issued by President Mubarak on labor day.

Also discussed was the underwriting of privatization costs by the general state budget or through the resources of the companies being privatized or restructured.

Even though the World Bank gave satisfactory performance evaluations to public sector companies, a list was made of 35 companies that were due for divestiture under the 1992/93 program but will be privatized under the 1993/94 program instead.

Discussions also dealt with the delayed "liquidation" of certain companies, because the government supplanted them by other companies with a book value of 475 million Egyptian pounds, even though only 355 million pounds in liquidations were actually realized by the end of 1993.

Still on the subject of privatization, the delegation commends the existence of a full-time cabinet portfolio dedicated to the public business sector. The ministry implements programs to encourage worker participation in privatization programs through more than 50 investor/worker federations. Many privatized company shares have also been made available on the stock exchange.

The discussions also dealt with reforming the banking sector and with reducing the Central Bank's foreign exchange reserves requirement from 15 to 10 percent of each bank's aggregate earnings redeposited interest-free with the Central Bank. The talks touched on whether banks meet the capital requirements set by the Basel Committee and on whether they allocate adequate reserves to cover non-performing loans. World Bank experts commended the implementation of the agreement to sell public bank equities in banks and private firms, otherwise known as joint banks or joint investment companies.

In a different area, the discussions focused on the delayed implementation of certain aspects of agreed programs such as boosting the GDP rate of growth which remains weak in certain instances, causing unemployment to rise to 17 percent.

Other shortcomings in program implementation that were discussed included:

- People's Assembly failure to impose a 5-percent tax on savings earnings.
- The imposition by the government of a 2-percent customs duty over and above the current fee which is 1-percent higher than the customs duties set by recent customs conventions.
- The consumer price of electricity remains at 80 percent of marginal cost when the government had promised to implement higher rates.
- The entry of foreigners in the cotton market remains restricted, in that cotton trade is restricted by law to Egyptian nationals. The World Bank delegation criticized the government for setting a minimum selling price for an interim period that is yet to be defined.
- World Bank experts would rather do without certain investment formalities in the governorates. Examples are defining areas suitable for investments and issuing local government permits.
- World Bank experts criticized the manner of privatizing the insurance and Social Security sectors by not

factoring in options for reforms in social security, especially in view of the propensity to combine the Insurance, Social Security, and Pension departments.

It was agreed to expedite the introduction into the People's Assembly of the new insurance bill, which would allow foreign firms to operate within the country and would provide for monitoring "private funds" in order to raise their investment standards. At this point, the World Bank criticized the government for seizing insurance surpluses, amounting so far to 33 billion pounds, and for the low interest rate it pays on them.

The talks established goals for 1994, including the completion of a study to set up an autonomous organizational structure for utilities.

They also stressed the need to sell more shares of banks in which public sector banks have equity ownership; to encourage the formation of employee associations to help workers obtain bank loans to acquire shares; and to expedite the drafting of a uniform law on corporations and economic activity which would govern such eventualities as bankruptcies, anti-trust cases, mergers, and arbitration. The World Bank expressed willingness to help get this bill drafted before the current session of the People's Assembly adjourns.

The Bank also emphasized the need to eliminate Ministry of Supply sugar and cooking oil subsidies by the end of 1995; to fully liberalize the cotton trade by the end of 1995; and to liberalize housing rents by the end of this year.

It was also learned that those recommendations on the course of economic reforms notwithstanding, both World Bank and IMF presidents commended the rate of Egyptian reforms, which exceeded expectations. The government, meanwhile, has been keen on facing up to the expected negative aspects of the reforms program by paying careful attention to its social consequences in order to safeguard the livelihood of those with limited incomes.

Even though the Bank and the IMF have both recommended that wages be contained, the government has approved auxiliary wage increases year after year in order to safeguard worker quality of life. It has also continued to subsidize most basic commodities and such public services as education and health and to make financial contributions to pensions and social insurance.

#### **Workers Express Their Understanding of Privatization**

94LD0060A Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic  
21 Apr 94 p 5

[Article by Hani Salih: "Workers Do Not Know"]

[Text] New phrases have invaded workers' lives. They now have to deal with words heard for the first time, such as privatization, stocks, employee unions, etc.

Citizen understanding and conviction about any new phrase or situation is undoubtedly the first guarantee of the experiment's success. In the past the experiment of the private sector suffered from lack of comprehension by many.

How are employees now receiving these terms that are new to their lives? How are they dealing with them? Have they indeed understood them? Has anyone attempted to explain them to them?

'Abd-al-Mun'im Isma'il (age 54), senior overseer, said he had heard much about the business sector laws, but understood nothing about them.

"The company has voluntarily begun deducting part of the price of shares, but we are asking whether it is for our benefit and what their system is."

Answering himself, he said: "The trade union committees and company officials should have explained to employees the importance of buying these shares and what guarantees will be provided to workers, because the employees feel afraid of privatization, and the union committee has no part in the matter."

He said that he nevertheless approved of buying shares, but that it ought to be done from conviction.

#### Trading Workers' Shares

Yusri 'Abd-al-'Aziz, senior overseer, asked: "Can an employee-purchased share be traded on the stock exchange? Has the share been registered in my name or not? An employee ought to be allowed to sell and buy, so that he feels the real benefit of owning the share. The rules and regulations for stock ownership ought to be announced among employees."

He warns about a new buyer's pressuring workers in order to buy their shares when they take ownership of the company. He also asks what rate of return these stocks will have. These things should be completely clear to the employees.

#### Decision To Invest—Whose Responsibility?

Hamsah 'Abd-al-Mun'im Kilani, female employee of the Egypt Oils Company, said: "A share means a new kind of security. Employee investment in stock purchasing ought to be voluntary and not compulsory, because the owner of capital has the right to decide freely whether to invest by buying shares within the company, outside it, or through the stock market."

She asked: "When we think of recouping the price of the share, can its value be converted immediately? At what price? Or shall we be told to wait until the end of the fiscal year?"

Hanan al-Sayyid 'Abd-al-Khaliq, a female employee, said that privatization was a word frequently used in recent years, but she did not know its meaning. However, she believes that the employee ought to own part of the

shares of the company in which he works. This will strengthen loyalty and affiliation. Workers should be able to understand the terms of negotiation with new buyers.

#### Things Not Understood

Salah 'Abd-al-Maqsud, a member of the elected board of directors of al-Nasr Automobile Company, said that a union of shareholding workers has been formed and announced. Government policy is to give workers ownership of a portion of the stock of the company in which they work. Offering a company for sale has not received sufficient explanation; the majority of workers do not understand it. It was recently announced that a company could be sold by a number of means—sale by the administration, by stock purchase, or lease to utilize capacities.

He said these matters were not understood and unclear because there was a lack of information. Although it was government policy and a shift from a directed system to a free economy, workers must participate in this stage.

He declared that he as a worker did not object to the company's new buyer. "But we ought to be informed about these proceedings and their reason from the opening of bidding until the sale is closed. The length of the selling process causes anxiety for the workers and affects the company's contract commitments with buyers of goods or importers of components."

He said that any new buyer must not reduce workers' wages and incentives. He must fully utilize productive capacity and employ the work force without neglecting it.

Workers must be represented in the negotiating procedures as an observer to guarantee their rights.

#### Interest, Rights

Nasir Kamil Sulayman, decoration technician in the planning division of al-Nasr Automobiles, asked whether purchasing stocks would benefit the workers, and why the worker did not represent himself when buying the stock.

He said that it was the first time he had heard about the shareholders' union. Worker stock ownership would safeguard their rights in the face of buyers and strengthen the sense of affiliation, but these things had to take place with full conviction and complete clarity.

'Ali Sa'id Gharib, senior overseer at the bus factory, said that an employee's salary would not permit him to buy any shares, even though ownership of company stock was necessary to strengthen the employee's sense of affiliation with the factory.

He said that he understood nothing the media was publishing about privatization. He asked whether it was some state secret.

He said that the company had 10,000 employees, although no more than 3,000 were supposed to be working in it. The employees were not against discharging part of the work force, provided they were compensated appropriately and that it was clearly announced instead of being covered up.

'Abd-al-Wahhab Mubarak said that one should not announce policies that were not implemented. For example, it was announced that vacations and foreign travel were being granted to government employees, while at the same time some companies were refusing to renew these vacations.

He asked why there was this contradiction and whose interest it served.

Al-Husayni Muhammadi Mansur, secretary of the Union of Worker Shareholders at the Coca Cola Company said that workers had recently realized the importance of forming the union to confront the new buyers. They had deducted 3.8 months from their dividends and 100 pounds from their savings for the purpose of buying shares.

He asked whether the Union of Worker Shareholders would have a voice in the board of directors proportional to the shares they had obtained.

Sa'id Fathi, the trade union committee's representative on the Coca Cola board of directors, said that the holding company ought to sell shares to the employees immediately, regardless of the new purchasers. Selling to Egyptians is better than to foreigners, and the company's selling shares is better than selling them by auction.

He explained that the trade union committees at the company's factories had been educating workers about the need for cohesion and for regarding the company's interest as above any personal consideration. Workers must realize the importance of the coming period. They will have to change their behavior and increase production, as is happening in private sector factories, so that the new buyers find no opportunity to lay off any worker after the period stipulated for no layoffs.

#### **Full Responsibility**

Engineer Mamduh 'Abd-al-Halim al-Sharqawi, head of the Turah factories division of the Starch and Glucose Company, said that the operating style was different in the business sector from what it was under the public sector law—through better monitoring of production expenses and greater decisionmaking responsibility for factory leaders, along with full responsibility and greater ability to compete with imports.

#### **Never Heard of Shareholders' Union**

Muhammad Shibl, a member of the trade union committee at the Starch and Glucose Company, said: "We never heard about the union of worker shareholders until after the [company's] general meeting decided to deduct two months of dividends [paid to workers] for the

purpose of buying shares and promised to subsidize the price of the shares by two similar months."

He said that worker purchase of shares in this manner was encouraging, because the return on shares in profitable companies was higher than interest in banks.

He said that 80 percent of the workers had participated in shareholder development and had bought shares.

#### **Sale to Foreigners Rejected**

Hijazi 'Abd-al-Rahim (age 58), senior overseer at the Starch Company, said he had gone to work at the company before nationalization, in the days of foreign owners. He indicated that working with foreigners was very difficult, because it meant no security for workers when they were sick or incapacitated. He therefore preferred selling to Egyptians. In the end they are our brothers: they love their fellow countrymen, and will not easily treat them carelessly. A diligent worker should not fear the new management; however, they want guarantees against dismissal.

#### **Governors Advised on Ways To Increase Development**

94LD0060B Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI in Arabic  
23 Apr 94 p 23

[Article by Dr. Isma'il Shalabi, Faculty of Law, al-Zaqaziq University: "Unemployment Problem and Economic Development: Governors' Role"]

[Text] As part of the government's recent course of economic reform and in order to end the budget deficit and help eliminate unemployment, accelerate the economic development process, and avoid contracting more foreign debt, it is important to encourage the establishment of investment, production, and service projects in the governorates. This can be done by exploiting the resources of each individual governorate to establish such projects without the government's contributing any funding to them. Governors should play the main role in establishing these projects because of their broad powers, moral authority in their governorates, and good relations with citizens and businessmen. One can exploit the relative advantage that each governorate has over the others. Projects can be based on utilizing the citizens of each individual governorate in addition to whatever Arab or foreign capital is obtained. The performance and success of governors should be evaluated through the number of productive and service projects each has established in his governorate, the extent to which each has realized the policy of self-sufficiency in production, service, and food security, and the elimination of unemployment for the citizens of the governorate. I would point out that the best form for these projects is that of joint stock companies that perform productive activities in the manufacturing, agricultural, and service fields. Stress should fall on small industries that need only small capital—small workshops employing a limited number of university or middle technical school graduates. To



that end I formulate in the following points my concept of self-reliance in investment and development and of how governors can contribute thereby to eliminating unemployment in the coming period:

1. The governor's role is to promote projects and work to establish them through his contacts, connections, and moral and political position. He should also arrange publicity and the necessary conferences for citizens and businessmen.

2. Participation should be limited to citizens of the region and the previously mentioned agencies. The Union of Egyptian Banks should play a promotional role with foreign and joint banks and thereby support these projects.

3. It is important that the necessary economic studies be done for these projects and that suitable personnel be selected to run them. Experienced technicians in the field of production of each project should be utilized. We should completely avoid political interference in the selection of the project, its site, or its workers in a way not in harmony with its economics. The managing boards of these companies should be formed from their founders and shareholders through free elections with the knowledge of the company's general meeting.

4. The following economically and socially important considerations should be especially taken into account with regard to these projects:

a. Increasing production and raising productivity so as to ensure covering the need of the domestic market for the goods produced, with any surplus to be exported, thereby bringing in foreign revenues.

b. The more employment in the project is restricted to citizens of the region, the more eager these citizens will be for the project's success and the more interested they will be in participating in it; and thus the more rapid will be the region's development.

5. The shares of these companies should be listed for trading on the stock exchange. This will invigorate the securities market and make it easier to create financial liquidity for shareholders.

6. The governor's success in his region is related to the number of joint stock companies established in the region and the success of these companies. He can be evaluated objectively on this basis.

#### **Attorney General Views on Investment Fraud, Corruption**

94LD0046A Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic  
27 Apr 94 pp 12-14

[Interview with Counselor Raja' al-'Arabi, attorney general of Egypt, by Suhayr al-Husayni; place and date not given: "1994 Is the Year of the End of Troubles for Capital Investors and Settlement of Their Claims"—first paragraph is AKHIR SA'AH introduction]

[Text] Issue No. 1: Counselor Raja' al-'Arabi, by virtue of his work as a prosecutor for more than 30 years, is used to asking questions and exercising the authority of an investigator. But in this meeting I asked his permission for us to change roles. I brought up with him a number of important issues that reflect the concerns and worries of Egyptian citizens. The questions were bold and direct, and the replies were confident and definite, and they reflected the man's candor and clarity. It was only natural that the first matter to be brought up in an interview with the attorney general was the case involving the victims of the investment companies.

[Al-Husayni] The attorney Shawqi al-Sayyid received a judgment from the courts concerned obliging the state to give back the investors' capital. Why has this judgment not been carried out so far, and to what extent can it be carried out?

[Al-'Arabi] A news item really has appeared to the effect that one of the courts has issued a judgment which obliges the state to give back the investors' capital. However, this news item is totally devoid of the truth. What really happened is that three investors of capital in small investment companies filed a lawsuit against the owners of the investment companies and the state in which they demanded that they give back the investors' capital. The court appointed an expert to determine the value of this capital and the deposits, who should pay them, who was responsible for their not being paid so that a judgment can be rendered against these persons. After that, the case was delayed until the expert could present his fees, and the case is still in the courts. This is why this news item was totally false.

#### **Responsibility of the State**

[Al-Husayni] Leaving aside this news item, what is your comment concerning what some investors are saying to the effect that the intervention of the state and law agencies such as the Office of the Attorney General and the Office of the State Prosecutor between the investment companies and the investors is the reason for the obstruction of the process restoring the claims of the investors against these companies?

[Al-'Arabi] There is no sound basis for saying this, because the state did not intervene in the matter of the investment companies until after it became a problem. In fact, it did not do this until the investors demanded that the state intervene. Just so I don't forget, let us go back and review what happened. What we see is that many loud voices demanded that the state quickly intervene. And when the state legally intervened, these companies were exposed, because they had not been operating on sound bases. The state intervened on the basis of the wish of the masses of people in order to protect the Egyptian economy and in order to protect the investors themselves. The reason is that, since fraudulent acts were taking place, it was possible for these companies to go bankrupt and for their owners to flee abroad. In the case of some companies, this really happened. In such a case,

the investors will not get any of their money back. This is why the state intervened and issued a law regulating activity in these companies. When the law was put into effect, these companies were exposed and they stumbled after they were unable to reconcile their situations with the law. For this reason, they were then attached.

Even yesterday, some of the owners of the small investment companies, who had been jailed and whose cases were still before the courts, demanded the authorization of the attorney general to sell the assets of their companies so that they could pay the investors what they owed them—in spite of the fact that this long period of time had gone by without their even thinking of authorizing anyone to do so.

It was possible for me, as the attorney general, not to intervene at all in this matter, and to wait until judgments were issued against the owners of these companies. And it was likely that the verdict would be that the owners of these companies would be acquitted and we would be forced to turn over the capital to them, and after that it would not be our concern what they would do with the investors.

But what I did as attorney general—especially since it is well known that cases such as these drag on a long time in the courts—was to offer to let the owners of the companies who were the defendants return to the investors what they owed them by means of what they would earn from the sales. This is what we are doing right now. I believe that, if the Office of the Attorney General had not intervened and undertaken the sales operations itself, no one would have gotten the prices at which we are selling, because purchasers have boundless trust in the Office of the Attorney General. This is why we are getting higher prices than what the market prices are. For example, a plot of land that was owned by the al-Sharif Company was offered for sale by means of an auction after being advertised in the newspapers. Only one company offered to buy it, and the amount offered was 17 million Egyptian pounds. I cancelled this auction and did not accept the price because, in my opinion, the price was not high enough. Then I authorized a bank to sell this land. The bank then negotiated with the company which came to the auction, and the result was that the price of the land rose to 22 million instead of 17 million Egyptian pounds, with the company asking for some easy terms dealing with the payment period. However, I even rejected this offer, and I finally sold the plot of land for 24 million Egyptian pounds. Nevertheless, all I hear is blame that is being cast on us now because this activity is not within our domain. Let it be known to everyone that it really is not my job to do buying or selling. But sometimes I occupy myself with such a matter in order to solve a national problem that could affect the nation's higher interest, especially since millions of Egyptian families were victims of these companies. After all, should the attorney general remain silent and just look on as a big problem occurs that we might not be able to solve later on—particularly since we fear that there are some individuals or parties who have an interest in

seeing the problem continue to exist, without a solution? I say that I fear this, but I am not accusing anyone in particular.

[Al-Husayni] Who are these parties that have an interest in seeing the problem of the investment companies remain unsolved?

[Al-'Arabi] I am not accusing anybody in particular. But, as I mentioned, I am afraid that there are those who have an interest in having this problem remain in existence and not be solved.

#### Convicted Investor Makes Business Contacts

[Al-Husayni] The fact that Ahmad Tawfiq al-Rayyan left prison to administer the capital of the investors has made many people inquire, with astonishment, whether or not a person who has been sentenced to hard labor because he was not trustworthy concerning investors' money and rights should be allowed to administer this capital once again?

[Al-'Arabi] Ahmad Tawfiq [al-Rayyan] did not leave prison in order to administer the capital of the al-Rayyan Company. What happened is that the Office of Confiscation [idarat al-tahaffudh] occasionally requests that he be let out of jail in order to make contacts to get buyers for the company's assets. Ahmad al-Rayyan does not administer the capital, because he does not have the right to do so after being sentenced to hard labor. This makes it illegal for him to undertake any administration or disposal [of such capital]. A "caretaker" has been appointed for him. In addition to this, Ahmad al-Rayyan, after being sentenced, authorized me, as the attorney general, to sell the company's assets. For this reason, when we bring him to the Office of Confiscation, we do this because this man has numerous contacts with many people who could buy the company's assets. I utilize him, but I do not let him administer the capital. I, in turn, should be asking: How could a man who is in prison and has been sentenced to hard labor be allowed to administer capital such as this? This is impossible, but we are still being hounded by these rumors.

[Al-Husayni] Concerning the administration of the investment companies' capital, there are those who are wondering whether or not the Office of the Attorney General has people who are qualified financially and business-wise to administer capital totalling more than 1.5 billion Egyptian pounds.

[Al-'Arabi] As for administration of the capital of the investment companies, the Office of the Attorney General does not intervene in the manner that is imagined. However, we entrust this work to people who did this administrative work before—in exchange for the payment of certain fees. What we do is supervise this work. This supervision is done by means of an accounts monitoring agency that audits all of the transactions undertaken by those undertaking the administration so that no fraud takes place. So, as far as the office is concerned, the administration [of these companies] is

not considered to be a problem. The work is done under the supervision of the Capital Attachment Office, and experts are sent to audit the transactions of the administrators who supervise the administration in order to see if there are any irregularities. If any irregularities are found, we call to account the person who is at fault, and this is not something that is difficult to do. In fact, we did succeed in paying back the capital to all of the investors in some of the small investment companies when their owner requested that the office settle his situation.

#### **Overlapping Spheres of Activity**

[Al-Husayni] The Office of the State Prosecutor General is also working on the administration of millions [of Egyptian pounds] of capital deposited by investors in the investment companies. Is this not considered to be duplication and overlapping in spheres of activity, especially since it is a known fact that the Office of the State Prosecutor deals with economic issues?

[Al-'Arabi] This is no duplication or overlapping in the spheres of activity, and each office is proceeding along its path in accordance with the system that it is governed by.

[Al-Husayni] Do you mean that there is coordination between the Office of the State Prosecutor and the Office of the Attorney General, in the sense that each of them deals with particular types of cases, in accordance with the system of operation in each of the offices?

[Al-'Arabi] No, there are no specializations involved. But each office does its work in accordance with the complaints that it receives. Furthermore, if the complaints involve the occurrence of a crime, then they become the sphere of activity of the Office of the Attorney General.

[Al-Husayni] The investment company cases, in general, involve crimes such as swindling, committing fraud in order to gain control of the capital of investors, and refusal to make payments.

[Al-'Arabi] The establishment of capital investment companies, in general, is something that is governed by law, and any violation of this law constitutes a definite crime, and this falls within the sphere of authority of the attorney general. For this reason, most of the investment company cases come to our office. However, what has happened is that some of those who deposited capital in the investment companies took their complaints to the Office of the State Prosecutor General either before coming to the Office of the Attorney General or before our office could take measures. The Office of the State Prosecutor has been faster when it comes to taking measures dealing with attachment. In order that the owner of a company not be subjected to attachment in two different agencies, the Office of the Attorney General is starting to follow the path of dealing with criminal cases and lawsuits, and is allowing the state prosecutor to take the other steps and measures, as long as the perpetrator of the criminal act has been subjected to attachment by the Office of the State Prosecutor.

[Al-Husayni] What is your response to those who say that it would be more correct and appropriate to entrust the administration of the investment companies to banks since they have expertise in dealing with financial and business transactions?

[Al-'Arabi] The answer is simple. The Office of the Attorney General right now does not undertake the administration of the capital of the investment companies. However, our office does undertake the liquidation of the assets of these companies and hands over the earnings from the liquidation to the investors, the owners of this capital. We basically do not resort to relying on the administrative method. The reason for this is that, if we had decided to repay the investors by means of administering the capital of these companies, these investors would have to wait 20 or 30 years before receiving the full amount of their repayments. This is why we resorted to the method of immediate liquidation of these companies by means of selling them off, in order that the investors be repaid faster. Also, banks do not purchase the assets of these companies, but it is possible for them to finance buyers. This has actually happened in the case of some banks.

#### **Investors' Troubles Will End in 1994**

[Al-Husayni] The problem of the investors and the investment companies has been in your office since 1988, that is, for six years, but the victims of these companies still have not been paid what they are owed, and this is in spite of the fact that statements are continually being made to the effect that a solution to the problem is near at hand. This has caused the investors to become desperate and frustrated.

[Al-'Arabi] Our office has had the problem of the investment companies since 1988. But I only took up the problem in 1991, when I was appointed attorney general. Therefore I am not responsible for the preceding period. Also, I am only responsible for statements that I myself make. Concerning the al-Rayyan case, I have fulfilled my promise to the investors and they have actually received 10 percent of their capital back. And now we have enough money to pay them another 10 percent. Right now we are undertaking an urgent study, which will be finished this week. There are businessmen and plant owners who are prepared to offer goods and products to the investors. Thus, instead of receiving 10 percent in the form of cash, it would be possible for them to receive goods worth 20 or 30 percent of what they are owed.

[Al-Husayni] Are these goods produced by the al-Rayyan and al-Sharif companies, as was previously the case?

[Al-'Arabi] No. These goods are produced by Egyptian plants in general.

[Al-Husayni] Will the owners of these plants furnish these goods and products in return for their purchase of the assets of the investment companies?



[Al-'Arabi] No. The owners of these plants will provide these goods immediately. Then they will give us a chance to sell the assets of the companies and pay them what we owe them after that. An agreement actually has been reached with them. This will enable us to achieve more than one goal. First of all, it will stimulate Egyptian industry, and secondly, the investors will be paid back what is owed to them at greater rates than would be possible if we paid them only with the money that we have available right now.

[Al-Husayni] People have been very patient, but they are wondering when the problem of the investors and the capital investment companies will be solved once and for all?

[Al-'Arabi] If the rate of sales continues at its present pace, I am hoping that the troubles of the investors will end in 1994. I am trying extremely hard to have the problem of the capital investment companies be solved by the end of this year. If some loose ends concerning this problem remain, they will be very simple matters and will be beyond my control. I should remark that this matter is one that requires a great deal of effort. For example, if the al-Rayyan investors are paid back 10 percent of what they are owed, this means that we have to pay them more than 150 million Egyptian pounds. The same situation applies to the al-Sharif investors. So let the investors be lenient with me and give me a chance to be able to finish this task as it should be done and as I hope to do it.

[Al-Husayni] What about the investors with the al-Sa'd Company? Will their troubles also come to an end, and will they get paid back in 1994?

[Al-'Arabi] The al-Sa'd case is being taken up by the Office of the Attorney General as a criminal case. But the capital of the al-Sa'd Company has been attached by the Office of the State Prosecutor General. Therefore you should ask the state prosecutor general about what is owed to the al-Sa'd investors.

#### Emergency Law Powers

[Issue No. 2: In its interview with the attorney general, AKHIR SA'AH then took up the matter of the Emergency Law, which has been put into effect for an additional three years.]

[Al-Husayni] The renewal of the Emergency Law for three more years has led us to wonder what the effect of this law has been on the work and investigations conducted by the Office of the Attorney General. We are wondering, in particular, whether or not it is true—as some members of the opposition have been saying—that it is difficult for accused persons to receive complete justice when this law is being applied.

[Al-'Arabi] The Emergency Law is like any other law. It does not affect the rules of conducting investigations according to which we proceed. There is no dispute about the fact that the Office of the Attorney General

does its job, whether according to the Emergency Law, the Criminal Procedure Law, or any other law. In our agency, work is being conducted according to one system and one set of guarantees.

[Al-Husayni] However, it is being said that the Emergency Law gives the Office of the Attorney General additional powers that might diminish the rights of citizens when they are subject to investigations.

[Al-'Arabi] All of the guarantees provided to accused persons by the Criminal Procedure Law apply to them completely under the Emergency Law. Perhaps what is meant by this talk is the fact that the Emergency Law grants to the Office of the Attorney General the authority to use pre-trial detention in connection with crimes subject to this law. An example of this is the powers of the investigative judge. This is not considered to be an additional prerogative of the Office of the Attorney General. Many laws already give our office this authority. The most recent is Law No. 105 dealing with the establishment of State Security Courts which gives the Office of the Attorney General, in connection with crimes such as bribery and embezzlement as well as crimes which violate the internal and external security of the state, the powers of an investigative judge when investigating crimes such as these, and they include pre-trial detention. Thus the Emergency Law does not at all affect the work done by the Office of the Attorney General. Perhaps the effect of this law is to be found in the name of the type of trial in accordance with which the accused is tried, as well as the procedure of certification of judgments which differs from that of appeals against judgments. This is a matter which does not affect or directly apply to the work done by the Office of the Attorney General.

[Al-Husayni] Since we are talking about pre-trial detention, [I should mention that] it is a known fact that pre-trial detention of the accused before conviction is a matter which infringes upon his freedom. It is supposed to be used only to a very limited extent, such as if one fears that the accused will flee or if the accused has no known address. However, it should be remarked that the Office of the Attorney General has started utilizing this authority in a way which transforms it into a type of penal authority.

[Al-'Arabi] That does not happen at all. Pre-trial detention is a preventive measure done in order to guarantee that justice be carried out. It generally is done when one fears that the accused will obtain access to witnesses, will influence them, or will tamper with the evidence of a case. Pre-trial detention is not a punishment, as you have said it is. The Office of the Attorney General does not inflict any punishment on any individual. However, in big cases such as cases of terrorism, it is possible that the accused persons will have known addresses, but should one release them? The same applies to bribery and embezzlement cases. Should we release the accused persons so that they would tamper with the evidence of the case or gain access to the witnesses before they come

to trial? In cases such as these, the accused is detained before trial, and when the investigation is over, he is either charged with the crime and brought to trial as a prisoner or he is released.

But as for what is being said about the Office of the Attorney General expanding its use of pre-trial detention, this has not happened—unless you have already done a statistical survey [and found this to be true]. Even if this has happened, we could undertake a statistical survey which would show that the number of crimes has increased. Consequently, there has not been any expansion in the use of this right on the part of the Office of the Attorney General.

[Issue No. 3: The interview then switched over to the issue dealing with journalists.]

[Al-Husayni] Permit me at this point to speak as a journalist and a member of the Journalists' Union. We have come to feel a sense of alarm concerning the steps being taken against journalists when they are being investigated in cases dealing with the publication of news. These steps conflict with the guarantees provided to them by the Union Law, the Press Authority Law, and other laws.

[Al-'Arabi] First of all, there is no problem between the attorney general's apparatus and the journalists. Secondly, what are the reasons for the alarm and the fear? When has the Office of the Attorney General ever dealt with a journalist in a way that violates his freedom or conflicts with the Press Authority Law?

[Al-Husayni] This actually did happen with some of my colleagues who were being investigated recently in connection with cases concerning the publication of news. They were arrested, detained, and then released on bail in a manner that violates the text of the Press Authority Law in Article No. 135 of the Criminal Procedure Law.

[Al-'Arabi] It is very unfortunate that the newspapers are publishing and circulating talk like this that has no basis in fact. I mentioned this in a response to the head of the Journalists' Union. Also, we should differentiate between the measures taken by the Office of the Attorney General and those taken by others. The question is: Has the Office of the Attorney General ever ordered the arrest of a journalist? This has never happened. Has the Office of the Attorney General ever put a journalist in jail for the purpose of pre-trial detention? This has never happened.

[Al-Husayni] Who are these others, and do they have the authority to commit these deeds that are in violation of the law?

[Al-'Arabi] Don't ask me about others, for the simple reason that I do not know the facts concerning the problem. Any journalist who says that there is a problem between him and the Office of the Attorney General, and does not submit a written complaint so that I can take investigative measures such as I do with any case, is

indisputably mistaken. Often citizens come to me with complaints about the behavior of members of the Office of the Attorney General. These complaints are submitted in writing, and then the Judicial Inspection Agency begins looking into them. And if a mistake has been committed, the person who made the mistake is immediately called to account. But as far as journalists are concerned, so far I have not received a single complaint. The problem has only been brought up on the pages of the newspapers. I am not responsible for dealing with what has been brought up on the pages of newspapers. We always say that any citizen who has a complaint against a member of the Office of the Attorney General, a member of the judicial authority, or anyone else has to submit the complaint to us in order that we conduct the investigation concerning it so that we can verify the truth and seriousness of the complaint. I often receive complaints in which citizens complain against each other. It is more appropriate for me to receive complaints against the agency that works with me. But, in this case, a matter is being brought up in the newspapers or at Journalists' Union meetings in order to have me make decisions based on only one point of view—that of the journalists. Have you even listened to the other point of view?

[Al-Husayni] What is the other point of view it would be possible for us to listen to now?

[Al-'Arabi] I am not the person with an opinion concerning the case you are talking about. I am an investigative party. For this reason, the journalist who is the aggrieved party should have submitted a complaint in order that it be investigated. Then we would have announced which party was in the wrong—whether it was the journalist, the prosecuting attorney, or the advocate general. I have received a letter from the Journalists' Union, which made its demands as a result of what happened. But I ask—on what basis does the Journalists' Union reach this verdict? Would it not be sounder if the journalist who is the aggrieved party were to submit a complaint in order that it be investigated? When one of the members of the Office of the Attorney General is found guilty, then we will determine the claims.

[Al-Husayni] As the person responsible for the Office of the Attorney General, [do you know whether or not] there is a dispute concerning providing the guarantees that are guaranteed by the Journalists' Law?

[Al-'Arabi] Do the Press Authority and the Press Law forbid questioning and investigating a journalist if we have received a particular complaint [about him]? What happens is, whenever someone submits a complaint to us about a particular person or party, the law determines for us the bases on which we may investigate these complaints. I deny that anyone in the Office of the Attorney General has violated the guarantees provided for in the law in the case of any person in our society, whether a journalist or not. If any journalist, in his opinion, feels that an investigator has resorted to procedures outside the law in his investigation with him, then he must submit a complaint to us in order that we investigate it.

When such a journalist does not receive what he feels is owed to him, then the attacks in the newspapers begin. Casting suspicion on the Office of the Attorney General, which is a fundamental branch of the judiciary, is not in anyone's interest, especially if the other point of view is not listened to. This is why I was hoping that someone would contact us or submit a written complaint concerning what occurred to him that was outside the law so that we could then investigate the matter.

It is being said that we did not notify the Journalists' Union before an investigation. First of all, the law has not determined the manner in which we are supposed to notify the Journalists' Union. When a representative from the union is present with the journalist during the investigation, does this not constitute notification of the union? What was said would be true if the investigation had been carried out without the presence of a representative. And if the journalist were present without a representative from the union, the prosecuting attorney would not be able to ask him any questions. A journalist has the right to tell the prosecuting attorney that he will not talk to him unless a representative from the union is present.

[Al-Husayni] Did you conduct an investigation into complaints by journalists?

[Al-'Arabi] Certainly I asked questions and investigated, but I will not talk about the results of this investigation, because so far I have not received a [written] complaint from anyone.

#### The Law and Economic Crimes

[Al-Husayni] Issue No. 4: Let us now switch over to another issue, which is that of the spread of economic crimes recently to a degree which threatens the processes of development and national security in Egypt. In your personal estimation, and by virtue of your position as attorney general, do you feel that crimes of this type have increased to the point that they require the issuance of new laws and new legislation to decisively deal with them?

[Al-'Arabi] I don't believe that we need more laws. The laws that we have on the books are enough. But we do need more decisiveness and experience when dealing with cases of this type. So in spite of the fact that we abolished the prosecuting offices that specialized in some types of crimes, we have not changed anything as far as the economic crimes are concerned. Thus we have the Public Property Prosecution Office, the Financial and Administrative Affairs Prosecution Office, and the Tax Prosecution Office. All of these prosecution offices specialize in economic crimes. In addition to this, we are constantly endeavoring to provide support for these prosecution offices by means of providing new expertise and specializations and holding high-level training courses for men from the Attorney General's Office at the National Criminal Investigation Center as support for our practical training.

[Al-Husayni] What is your opinion concerning the proposal made by some specialists concerning issuing new legislation to regulate the use of checks?

[Al-'Arabi] My opinion is that, as far as the current economic situation and those persons dealing in the financial market are concerned, if we put controls on the use of checks that would be stricter than they are now, this would have some negative consequences. For example, it is possible that trade and commerce would suffer some degree of stagnation.

Also, this might cause some difficulties for employees who purchase their basic necessities on the installment plan. Why not leave things as they are until economic conditions improve? If we slap restrictions on checks, we will find merchants then becoming afraid to deal with checks. For this reason, I feel that we should wait a while so that we do not affect the situation that currently exists between buyers and sellers.

#### Terrorism Issues

[Al-Husayni] Issue No. 5: Egypt has experienced many waves of terrorism during the last 40 years, and [most of the time] such terrorism has been dealt with and ended in the space of just a few months, as was the case with the Muslim Brotherhood in 1948, 1965, and 1970. What are the reasons for the continuation of the current wave of terrorism that began in 1990? Is it because of the expertise the terrorists have acquired as a result of their previous experience, or is it because they are taking advantage of the climate of freedom and democracy which prevails in Egypt nowadays?

[Al-'Arabi] No one can say that a climate of freedom and democracy can be exploited for the purposes of terrorist operations. But the fact is that the problem of terrorism in Egypt is a problem with many ramifications, and no individual can express his opinion on it without being versed in all the aspects of the problem. For this reason, allow me to apologize for not answering this question, even though I have been living with this problem for a long time. A discussion of this problem requires specialists in numerous fields. What I mean is that I am able to talk about the problem only from the point of view of the judiciary.

[Al-Husayni] But what we want is your opinion as a member of the judiciary.

[Al-'Arabi] I cannot answer this question merely from the point of view of the judiciary. The reason is that it would be a fragmentary and incomplete answer. This problem has to be discussed on all levels—the social, economic, human, and psychological levels. Regarding the reasons for the continuation of the wave of terrorism for such a long time, I believe that these terrorists have, without a doubt, acquired experience from the former terrorist movements. Also, these terrorist groups have individuals abroad working for them, and the hand of justice has not been able to get to them. This is also one of the reasons why they are continuing their terrorism.

[Al-Husayni] Concerning the decision by the president to refer cases of terrorism to the military justice system because it decides cases quickly, why is the Military Prosecution Office not handling the investigation of these cases instead of the Office of the Attorney General?

[Al-'Arabi] When the president issues a decree to refer a particular case to the military justice system, the Office of the Attorney General forgoes the completion of its procedure and the case is referred to the military justice system, that is, the investigation is conducted by the Military Prosecution Office and then the case is tried by the military justice system. Also, not all terrorism cases are referred to the military justice system. The president feels that there are terrorism cases that do not need to be referred to the military justice system because they are not so important. So not all cases of terrorism are referred to the military courts. But this does happen with major cases that could involve bad consequences for the nation, such as the cases involving shooting tourists. This is a matter that requires quick steps and a quick deterrent. For this reason, there are terrorism cases that are investigated by the Office of the Attorney General and then referred to the regular courts.

#### **Attorney General's Office and the Inspection Control**

[Al-Husayni] Issue No. 6: There are cases that have stirred up public opinion and received a great deal of attention in the media when investigations concerning them were being conducted, but then these cases ended with no convictions being made. They include the cases of Lucy Artin and al-Mahjub. Did this happen because of mistakes made during the process of arrest or investigation, or were there other reasons for this?

[Al-'Arabi] All the fuss raised concerning certain cases, as I have said, is the work of the media. I am not responsible for that. The attorney general's apparatus conducts its investigations and then assesses what has been done. That is, it decides whether or not the case should be sent to court and whether or not there is enough evidence for a conviction. But unfortunately, when an incident happens, the media quickly jumps in and utilizes it as a story to be published, with a lot of hype, even though they do not know what has been going on in the investigations. Furthermore, as I always say, a judge looks at a case in a way that is different from the point of view of a person who is far away from the judge's podium. In fact, it is possible for one judge's view to be different from another's. Criminal justice is based on the judge being convinced of the facts of a case. If the judge is convinced that a person is guilty, then that person is convicted, but if the judge is not convinced that he is guilty, then he is acquitted—and there is no argument about the matter. The judge's view of the

matter is more all-inclusive and broader because he makes judgments concerning a situation on the basis of the intuition and conscience of a judge. In addition to this, he takes into consideration the results of the investigation that he undertakes in the court session.

[Al-Husayni] It is also a known fact that the Office of the Attorney General has the authority of inspection. But the practice has been to authorize police officers, in their capacity as persons commissioned by the judiciary authorities, to undertake this work. For this reason, we often see criminals being acquitted, especially in narcotics cases, because the inspection procedure was carried out in a way that violates the law, both in form as well as in content. Why do members of the Office of the Attorney General not exercise the power of inspection themselves so that things are carried out in a sound manner?

[Al-'Arabi] Fundamentally, the members of the Office of the Attorney General carry out the investigation procedure as a whole, and not merely the inspection, because the inspection is just one of the procedures of the investigation. But the law entitles a member of the Office of the Attorney General to authorize any policeman commissioned by the authority of the judiciary to conduct this procedure in his place. The members of the Office of the Attorney General actually conduct the inspections in important cases, particularly since we do not have enough men in the Office of the Attorney General to conduct the inspections in all the cases. Furthermore, in cases involving narcotics or theft, if a member of the Office of the Attorney General goes out to conduct an inspection, he may end up endangering his life. This is particularly true because members of the Office of the Attorney General are not allowed to carry weapons—so that accused persons cannot claim that they used a weapon against them. So if members of the Office of the Attorney General go out and hunt down drug smugglers and armed criminals, they are endangering their lives. But the matter is different in the case of a policeman, because he carries a weapon and works within the framework of an integrated plan to pursue individuals who are in violation of the law.

It might happen that the procedure undertaken by a policeman commissioned by the authority of the judiciary is unsound and thus results in an acquittal, as you mentioned. But such persons who are commissioned by the authority of the judiciary, and who are police officers, have studied the law and are perfectly aware of what sound arrest procedures are. So such acquittals do not happen merely because a member of the Office of the Attorney General has authorized a police officer to undertake an inspection. If this does happen, it is because the officer did not follow the procedures stipulated by the law.



## IRAQ

### U.S. and French Policies Toward Iraq Compared

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Apr 94 p 8

[Article by Ghazi al-'Ayash]

[Text] The main reason for the pressures that are being applied by America, international Zionism, and Britain, as well as for the demand for concessions from Arab parties, are the absence of a united Arab position and the absence of an Arab force similar to Iraq's effective force. The reasons for their 30-nation aggression against Iraq are no longer concealed from anyone. Indeed, they themselves have taken to bragging about it after having enslaved some Arab rulers and exploited Arab resources against Arab interests. No honest Arab can have the slightest doubts that America, Britain, and Zionism are implementing a plan to humiliate the Arabs and deprive them of their rights and resources, transforming them into a conduit for American, British, and Zionist interests. As a start, America has succeeded in silencing some Arab rulers and in exploiting others to destroy the bulwark and hope of the Arabs: Iraq. They have left Iraq and the people of Iraq to pay the price alone, to the accompaniment of traitorous Arab instigation, an indifferent Arab stance, and a hateful international one. This, while Iraq was placing and continues to place Arab interests above all its own interests. The leader, Saddam Husayn, had previously warned the Arabs against dangerous blunders toward which they were being pushed by the American and British leaderships. America is injecting them with a fatal cancer in order to kill their national ambitions and expectations in the interests of "Israel," its ambitions and greed for Arab wealth and lands. Iraq pointed this out a long time ago, before the 30-nation aggression against it. The British station (BBC) broadcast a discussion between two political personalities, American and French. The first, Graham Fuller is one of the chief political analysts at the RAND Corporation in Washington. He had previously worked in the same capacity in the Middle East section of the Central Intelligence Agency. The second, Paul Balta is director of the Center for the Study of the Contemporary Middle East at the New University of the Sorbonne. They admit in their discussion that the main purpose for the continuation of the embargo is to serve American, British, and Zionist strategic interests in the region. This, in spite of their admission that Iraq has implemented the resolutions of the United Nations. Fuller, the American expert, says: "From an official point of view, we want the implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations. From an unofficial point of view, we want to overturn the government in Iraq." Balta, the French expert, interjects to introduce additional American aims: "America also wants to keep up the pressure on Iraq as long as there is no fundamental progress in the "Arab-Israeli peace talks," as Iraq represents the greatest threat to "Israel" in the region. There are also the current economic and financial difficulties of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, America's most important ally in the region. If Iraq were to enter the oil

market, the Saudi economy would collapse." The French expert adds: "When they speak of human rights in Iraq, they do so for local consumption. I am in complete agreement that the international community itself is violating the rights of Iraqi human beings." Explaining the reasons for France's participation in the aggression against Iraq, the French expert said: "Frankly, President Mitterrand was expecting political and economic benefits like the possibility of our participation in the Palestinian-Israeli negotiations for peace and the increase in the share of French companies in the petroleum and arms industries. However, it now seems to me that France has met with frustration. My country has been determined for some weeks to serve its own interests first." The American and French experts admit that double standards and positions are being applied to Iraq in the West, especially in America. This is what Iraq had exposed before their 30-fold aggression.

### UNSC Recent Stand Called Defeat for U.S.

94LH0047A Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic  
19 Mar 94 p 1

[Article by Salah al-Mukhtar]

[Text] Last night, the whole world saw and watched hour by hour the progress of a big political and diplomatic defeat for the United States and Britain in the Security Council. After an (American honeymoon) that lasted about three years, an American (troublesome era) has started; troubles and crises keep popping up, here and there.

During the last three lean years, through tremendous power, America succeeded in forcing the Security Council members—including the permanent ones—to support her! Accordingly, at the expiration of the two-month period, with just a hand signal, the American Ambassador to the United Nations could issue a declaration for an extension!

Currently, however, three out of the five permanent members of the UNSC—China, Russia, and France—have indicated that the positive stand of Iraq should be appreciated; both the United States and Britain have refused to appreciate that stand! Moreover, eight non-permanent UNSC members are willing to deal positively with Iraq, while only Argentina has supported the American stand!

This openly stated change implies a few important facts. First is the fact that the United States has lost its ability to either have declarations easily issued or to forcibly subject the UNSC members to her will. The second fact is that America realizes the far reaching and dramatic impact of this change. This change denotes that the battle for lifting the embargo has entered its most dramatic turn in its three years of existence because America's rationale no longer holds and is no longer influential even inside the American Congress. This indicates that the power-and-pressure weapon has become weaker and does not have full impact on the majority of nations.

The third fact is that to keep on extending the embargo every two months is no longer a one-handed decision by America; the wishes and interests of other nations are now taken into consideration with regards to the extension because the embargo no longer harms the Iraqi people alone, but is harmful to the international community as well. For this reason, the rationale of those countries that support lifting the embargo will, as time goes on, be stronger and more effective; eventually it will become an established legal and interest-oriented decision. When this situation occurs, the difference of opinion that became apparent lately will develop into a crisis that would—every two months—aggravate and give rise to conflict and arguments and perhaps even lead to a dangerous dilemma that would last until the embargo is ended!

Iraqis who have persevered, suffered, and have been deprived of medicine and many of life's necessities can breathe a sigh of relief today as the beam of hope has turned to a burning flame that is not liable for extinction. This flame will attract more of those people who have been trapped inside the venue of American vice and lead them to both truth and rationality.

The great sacrifices of our people have born fruit and have changed the embargo from an Iraqi issue to one for humanity as a whole. Currently, the human race is preparing—albeit slowly—to enter the political battle for lifting the embargo.

However, despite this positive change, the spirit of perseverance and the everlasting clinging to President Saddam Husayn's perception and leadership remains the main guarantee for putting an end to and shortening the duration of the battle to lift the embargo and also for sparing us more pain.

#### 'Abd-al-Ghani 'Abd-al-Ghafur on Visit to Moscow

94LH0059A Baghdad AL-QADISIYAH in Arabic  
12 Apr 94 p 3

[Interview with 'Abd-al-Ghani 'Abd-al-Ghafur, high-ranking Ba'th Party official, by Hani Ibrahim 'Ashur; place and date not given: "Participants in the Russian Liberal Democratic Party Convention Stood Up and Cheered for Saddam Husayn and the Iraqi People"—first four paragraphs are AL-QADISIYAH introduction]

[Text] After more than three years have gone by since the tripartite aggression against Iraq, the principles of the mother of all battles are still shining and illuminating the paths of our struggle as well as human civilization and freedom, and the principles of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party still express the depth of our commitment to the human principles and values that have been the foundation of the course of human history.

It is on the basis of these truths that relations between political movements and the principles of honorable men in the world have united and adopted firm positions in order to hoist the banner of truth and reject the system

of Western trusteeship and hegemony over the free and independent peoples of the world.

Part of the flowing river of live and battle-inspired friendships has been the relationship of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party [LDP] to our Arab Socialist Ba'th Party. A party delegation from Iraq, headed by Comrade 'Abd-al-Ghani 'Abd-al-Ghafur, member of the party's Iraqi Regional Command, represented the Ba'th Party at the general convention of the LDP, which was held during the last few days.

Our newspaper AL-QADISIYAH held this interview with Comrade 'Abd-al-Ghafur in order that we learn more about his recent visit to Moscow:

[Ashur] You visited Moscow after the UN Security Council last month reviewed and discussed the subject of the blockade against Iraq and after Russia announced its position calling for lifting the blockade within the framework of this review [of Iraq's situation]. How was this Russian position reflected in your meetings with Russian political leaders?

['Abd-al-Ghafur] Through our meetings with party leaders, people representing political forces, and official leaders during our visit in Moscow we discovered that there is a common denominator among the opinions of the official leaders and some of the party leaders concerning the necessity of lifting the blockade against Iraq. This was summarized in the Russian position taken in the Security Council during the last review. The source of this position is the fact that Russia realizes what its interest is. Official and party leaders have asserted that continuing the blockade against Iraq would cause great harm not only to Iraq, but also to Russia and its people. It is sufficient for me to point out that Zhirinovskiy, leader of the LDP, as well as the vice president of the Russian Communist Party and Russia's first deputy minister of foreign affairs, have all asserted that the Russian people have expressed their support for the position taken by Russia in the Security Council because of the fact that this position is in the interest of the Russian people and expresses the adherence to the values of friendship that binds the Russian and Iraqi peoples. The expression of this fact came out clearly in our meetings, through the common denominator that we referred to, and due to the fact that Russia, at the official, party, and popular levels, feels that its interest dictates that it work toward having the blockade against Iraq lifted and achieving the implementation of Paragraph 22 of Resolution 687. All this is in addition to the fact that there are common interests between the two nations. It is a known fact that there are extensive common economic and trade interests between Russia and Iraq that are governed by agreements that were in force before the tripartite aggression against Iraq.

[Ashur] Does this mean that Russian public opinion realizes what Russia's economic and political interests are and is urging Russia to move in the direction of taking a position vis-a-vis the blockade against Iraq?

['Abd-al-Ghafur] It is a known fact that one cannot totally separate politics from economics because of the close connection between them and the fact that they mutually influence each other. Due to this fact, there is a

feeling which predominates among Russian circles—and which the Russian media, official leaders, and party leaders have begun expressing in one form or another—concerning the fact that Russia's international position should not be ignored. They say that Russia is a superpower and has international influence. These Russian official and party circles are attempting to assert this fact by means of taking some positions. At this point we could refer to the recent Russian position taken in Security Council meetings concerning the blockade against Iraq that shows a basic departure from the position taken by the United States. This is something that has happened for the first time. Russia announced its position, resembling that of China and France, which represents a positive development regarding the matter of continuing the blockade against Iraq and requiring the Security Council to honor its commitments within the framework of Paragraph 22 of Resolution 687.

[Ashur] In light of the present situation, what are your expectations concerning the Russian position during the next review to be held by the Security Council?

[Abd-al-Ghafur] In light of the situation that has cropped up in the international arena and Russia's attempt to define its role, we suppose that there will be a more positive development in the Russian position, during the next review, in the direction of implementation of Paragraph 22 of Resolution 687, or at least with regard to setting a so-called "probationary period." Also, Russia has declared more than once that this matter should not be left unresolved, in accordance with the desire of Ekeus and the United States.

[Ashur] During your time in Moscow, you participated in the LDP convention as representative of our Ba'th Party. How do you assess the results of this convention on the various levels both inside and outside Russia?

[Abd-al-Ghafur] As we know, decisions made by parties in any particular country are that country's internal affairs, and what the LDP or any other [Russian] party decides is a matter that concerns Russia. However, the matter that concerns us is the LDP's position regarding the blockade against Iraq and the influence of the steadfastness of the people of Iraq, due to the leadership of our leader Saddam Husayn, on the direction taken by the convention. The convention reached a clear decision to undertake serious action to lift the blockade against the people of Iraq by means of exercising its influence on its bloc in the Russian parliament, the Duma, and by means of the ties of the LDP to the various political forces and other parties both inside and outside Russia. The LDP considers the people of Iraq to be a live example of the human struggle [being waged in the world], and the other parties and political forces also believe this. They consider Iraq to be a model of steadfastness and insistence, and they consider Saddam Husayn to be a symbol of the human struggle being waged against imperialism and U.S. hegemony. The LDP convention's final communique emphasized the necessity of resuming trade and economic relations with Iraq and breaking the unjust

blockade being imposed on it, both because of the benefit that this would bring to the Russian people and because it would be in the interest of both the Russian and Iraqi peoples, and because this would strengthen the values of friendship existing between the two nations.

When the speech for the Ba'th Party delegation at the convention was given, those present at the convention interrupted the speech numerous times with applause and cheers. They stood and cheered for Saddam Husayn. All the speeches by the delegations from parties and political forces from Germany, France, Bulgaria, and elsewhere saluted the positions taken by Iraq which has been steadfast in the face of imperialist hegemony, the delegations expressed how much they respect they had for the struggle being waged by the Iraqi people and their leader, Saddam Husayn, and they considered them to be an example to follow when confronting the so-called "new world order."

Iraq's position, steadfastness, and progress in development and construction in spite of the unjust blockade were a source of admiration. Zhirinovskiy clearly referred to this in his speech, and this admiration was also shown, without exception, by those at the convention who represented the parties and political forces participating in it. In addition to this, support was shown by the remarks made by the members of the convention who expressed their admiration for the position taken by Iraq's leader and people.

[Ashur] Numerous political movements and parties have come up with a united platform that rejects U.S. hegemony over the world. How has this rejection been reflected in Russian public opinion, and did you find popular support for Iraq and for rejecting the political program of the imperialists?

[Abd-al-Ghafur] Party and official leaders in Russia have expressed their independent political opinion by means of their assertion of the fact that Russia was a nation that had strong influence over the course of international politics even before the emergence of the former Soviet Union. When they talked, they referred to czarist Russia and its influence in international politics and alliances. Then they would mention or try to assert that Russia currently possesses the elements of influence in international politics at least equal to the influence exercised by the former Soviet Union. I believe that this trend in what people are saying has been expressed by statements made by Russian leaders concerning Russia's positions vis-a-vis many international issues and positions and by means of what we have referred to concerning Russia's position regarding the Security Council's latest review of the blockade imposed on Iraq.

This is also being expressed by the Russian media within the scope of the government and political forces, especially the parliament.

[Ashur] What is your assessment of the results of your visit to Moscow?



[Abd-al-Ghafur] We believe that the party's visit to Russia—which took place as a result of a resolution passed by the party's leaders in which it was mentioned that continual political momentum had taken place in the direction of lifting the blockade against Iraq—achieved its aims in terms of explaining and elaborating on Iraq's position and meeting its commitments to Iraq in the effort to lift the blockade. Russian leaders, both on the party and official levels, demonstrated an understanding of and appreciation for Iraq's positions as well as its responsiveness to Security Council resolutions. We hope that the Security Council's next review will more fully reflect the development and effectiveness in Russia's position with regard to the effort to lift the blockade.

We elaborated on Iraq's role, the importance of its location, and its economic and cultural importance, since Iraq cannot at all be ignored. We also conveyed the fact that the values of the people of Iraq confirm Iraq's commitment to the positions of the nations, peoples, and political forces that have stood by Iraq in its struggle to lift the blockade. And we said that, with regard to trade and economic agreements, we will be mainly influenced by the positions taken by nations and companies vis-a-vis the blockade imposed on Iraq and their contribution toward lifting it.

[Ashur] Thank you very much, Comrade 'Abd-al-Ghafur, for giving us this interview.

[Abd-al-Ghafur] And I thank you and your esteemed newspaper AL-QADISIYAH.

#### **Gradual Restoration of Foreign Relations Reviewed**

94LH0054A Paris AL-MUHARRIR in Arabic  
14 Mar 94 p 4

[Article by Akram Tahir Hassan]

[Text] In spite of many indicators that shed light on the degree of expansion in Iraq's diplomatic, political, and economic relations with countries within and outside the region, it appears that Iraqis have adopted a new policy that concentrates on their national capabilities to overcome the embargo that has been imposed upon them for more than three years.

Its mechanics geared in the realm of action and not words, the new policy does not mean that Iraqi diplomacy has downgraded its efforts toward the international organization, especially as Iraqi delegations abroad have adopted quiet diplomacy and on the spot decisionmaking in bilateral relations. This is done in the context of a political reality that takes into consideration the mode of conduct of international relations and American strategic pressures through the Security Council and its bodies like the special commission and others. That means that Iraqi diplomatic activity has to deal with the special circumstances that have formed and continue to form obstacles and limitations that affect

international bodies, countries, and organizations, attempting thereby to deliver these countries and organizations from consequences that might arise against them through American pressure.

Iraqi diplomatic activity has not been limited to dispatching delegations, but has included steps to reinvigorate the foreign service and to support its embassy employees in European countries. Diplomatic cadres have begun their travel to those countries after ministerial orders were issued to transfer them there.

According to its custom, Baghdad remains the hub of economic and political activity. No day passes without a delegation, or perhaps more than one, making the rounds of ministerial buildings, especially the foreign, petroleum, trade, and industry ministries. Some employees of these ministries are attempting to shroud the delegations and their nationalities in secrecy. However, it is clear that in addition to Asian countries, most of the European delegations belong to France and Russia.

No one can positively say that these delegations were unable to reach agreements or, at least, common understandings to respond to mutual interests in a manner that is in accordance with the nature of the international situation that is not applicable to Iraq alone, after it came to apply to other countries. It has become a restraint on their freedom to conduct their trade policies.

In order to overcome American surveillance, some countries have resorted to sending unofficial delegations headed by a former minister, or a member of parliament or presidents of chambers of commerce and industry in their own countries.

These delegations are often amazed by Iraqi negotiators whom they expect to be "agreeable" to enormous concessions which are usually called political or circumstantial concessions. However, they are confronted by sound commercial terms, which leave their adversaries with no option but to offer concessions themselves.

It is clear to the observer that current Iraqi diplomatic activity is proceeding with studied steps and limited goals. It has temporarily shelved wishful thinking and has adopted a realistic policy in practical steps. The February visits point to this. A delegation to Geneva to take part in a conference on human rights and disarmament was led by the foreign minister, Muhammed Sa'id al-Sahhaf. Tehran witnessed bilateral meetings between Iraqi and Iranian delegations. The assistant foreign minister, Sa'ad Faysal, led the Iraqi delegation. Up to the time of writing, Assistant Minister Dr. Riyad al-Qaysi is still in Paris conducting negotiations that, apparently, are not limited to trade and legal matters only, but cross over to political matters too. No doubt, they are focused on bilateral relations, which are witnessing improvements in numerous areas.

Diplomatic activity did not cease with the visits of last February. The current month of March will witness activities that are intended to pave the way for the

creation of a non-hostile atmosphere for any new step that aims to break the severity of the embargo, even partially, during the coming Security Council debate. It is expected that Deputy Prime Minister Tariq 'Aziz will arrive in New York to begin a series of meetings. If no official communique or notice of the visit and its date are issued by now, then it is expected that the time for the arrival of Mr. 'Aziz in New York will be the end of the month.

Observers expect the visit to have tangible positive results that will be the basis for realistic diplomatic relations that Iraq will be able to establish in various ways. The most important first step is the invigoration of bilateral relations with some European countries and the neighboring countries of the region. Then there is the positive cooperation with the organs of the international organization in such a manner as to frustrate any pretext that might be exploited under diplomatic cover to extend the duration of the embargo. Then there is placing the United Nations in such a position as to make it far from simple for it to bind the articles of the American political resolution with a legal and legitimate cover.

#### **Conference Statement on Violations of Iraqi Rights**

94LH0036A Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic  
9 Feb 94 p 4

[Text] The business of the International Conference on War Crimes and the Blockade's Violations of Human Rights in Iraq concluded last night in Baghdad. The text of a concluding statement issued from the conference follows:

The International Conference on War Crimes and the Blockade's Violations of Human Rights in Iraq met from 5-8 February 1994 in Baghdad. It built on the work of the nongovernmental organizations, societies, unions, and associations that are interested in human rights (and the legal and social issues related to them). Their undertaking obeys the call of similar nongovernmental organizations and societies that work in the legal and social fields related to human rights in Iraq.

Representatives of the human rights societies and the societies interested in children, representatives of lawyers' unions and jurists' societies and unions, representatives of cultural and religious societies, and Arab and foreign journalist foundations met together for this noble goal.

Likewise, various personalities from the Arab and Islamic world, and all the other parts of the world, attended for this goal. In addition a large number of Muslim and Christian religious people from various countries of the world attended.

The business of the conference was arranged around three basic topics. These topics were the objects of dialogue and elaborate discussions that lasted four days so that the participants could study the papers of the

[conference's] work and deliver treatises and commentaries on them. The conference began its work on 5 February 1994 with a legal discussion by international law experts of a research paper that a duly-qualified Iraqi committee wrote entitled "Crimes and Violations of the United States and its Allies Against Human Rights in Iraq." The subject of this paper was the fundamental theme of the participants' discussion throughout almost the entire conference. A work session was dedicated to this topic on the first day of the conference's work. Mr. Ramsey Clark, the former American Attorney General, was chosen to lead these sessions, and Dr. Nazar al-'Anbaki was chosen to report the business of the conference. Dr. Muhammad al-Duri presented the Iraqi paper referred to above. Mr. Ramsey Clark delivered a commentary at the start of the session in which he reported that the American war crimes were committed based on the decisions of the Security Council. For this reason, he demanded that the United Nations system be amended. He criticized the Security Council, saying that it became a tool of the war. He demanded of the participants that they remember and carry in their hearts the memory of the thousands of Iraqis who were martyred as a result of the criminal activity undertaken by the United States.

He pointed out that he exposed these crimes in his book, *The Fire This Time*, which is a testimony of the war crimes and the blockade on the Iraqi people. He reported that the blockade does not just kill soldiers, rather it also kills children and, therefore, it is a comprehensive weapon of destruction because of its destructive effects, which are equivalent to the use of nuclear weapons. He demanded that the elimination of their use be worked toward and that a limit to their use be set, and a limit be set to the obstacles imposed on Iraq, because they continue to represent an enduring crime against humanity. He said that he would be happy to listen to the viewpoint [from the perspective] of international law in this conference.

After the presentation and discussion of the Iraqi paper, the participants unanimously agreed that the military attack that began the morning of 17 January 1991 began a continuous chain of enemy military actions against Iraq. These actions were taken by the United States and its allies. In view of its purposeful goal of destroying the civil, industrial, and economic structures in Iraq, with no military justification for it, and in view of the concentrated use of weapons and the dreadful, senseless bombing that killed thousands of civilians, the United States and its allies have been committing war crimes that have resulted in immense violations of law.

Likewise, its bombing and destruction of inhabited civil defense shelters in which hundreds of women and children and old people fell victim and in which Iraqi soldiers were buried alive on the battlefield, are, by its own description, willful, deliberate, and planned violations that are considered living proof of war crimes.

The conference eventually led to a confirmation of what was said in the experts' paper—that the United States

violated the rules of international humanitarian law that relate to the protection of civilians during times of armed struggle, and that they broke the Geneva Conventions. Specifically, they broke the third convention relating to the protection of prisoners of war in the field. This resulted in the bad treatment of the Iraqi prisoners, as is represented in their willful abuse, humiliation, attempt at debasement, infliction of bodily and psychological injury, or killing. The documents, reports, and studies presented for the purposes of this conference bore witness to this.

The conference also eventually led to confirmation of the responsibility of the United States and its allies concerning violations of the principles of the law of war relating to the styles and methods of killing in two basic respects:

The first relates to the choice and expansion of bombing targets that are forbidden by international law—such as civilian leaders; grain and seed depositories; electric energy sources that are needed for health and human services; drinking water networks; military targets that are close to civilian centers, without previous warning; civilian and military hospitals; places of worship; and cultural antiquities.

The second relates to the use of prohibited weapons such as spent uranium bombs, vacuum bombs (fuel-air bombs), cluster and fission bombs, and incendiary napalm bombs. All of these are forbidden weapons. Use of these weapons violates the intent of the 1925 Geneva protocol and is considered a violation of the protocol's regulations on prohibition or restriction of the use of forbidden weapons. This protocol is attached to a 1980 agreement on prohibition and restriction of certain traditional weapons that can be considered excessively harmful. In addition, the use violates the regulations of the First Protocol of 1977, the additional addendum to the Geneva conventions of 1949 concerning the victims of war.

Concerning the crimes of the blockade, the participants in this conference criticized the tyrannical and harsh method with which the blockade against Iraq was imposed and applied, which represents an unparalleled precedent. Speaking specifically, after Iraq carried out the decisions of the Security Council, in spite of their severity and injustice, continuing to impose the blockade is for political, not legal reasons. Therefore, it is inconsistent with the decrees of the United Nations Charter. And, the use of the blockade as a means of political pressure is a new method in international relations the essence of which is the subjugation of the international organization's decisions to the selfish policies of a powerful, controlling state, which uses its imperialist, tyrannical power to terrorize the member states. The United Nations follows the logic of compliance with the will of the United States and grants it the legal cover required, or that it is forced to follow, toward Iraq, in compliance with the wish of the United States of America. The participants in the conference, in adopting the point of

view of the totality of the legal and factual arguments that the international law experts' paper contained, came to the conclusion that continuing the blockade represents rightly a crime of collective annihilation. It represents a crime of collective annihilation by causing deficiency in food, medicine, and health supplies and the prevention of Iraq from using its frozen assets in the international and foreign banks and financial institutions, and enormous number of deaths among children, especially infants, pregnant women, the elderly, and the chronically ill, who are in need of certain types of medicine, as United Nations sources themselves confirmed as well as other neutral sources, and as some of the participants in this conference witnessed with their own eyes. The persistence in this situation is a violation of international humanitarian law; of the international commitment to economic and social rights; of the agreement of the rights of the child, which the United Nations set up in 1989 and which became valid in 1991; and of the principles of the international declaration for human rights. In addition it is a violation of the rules of international morals and of the requirements of the general human conscience.

The participating experts found that continuing the blockade raises the problem of responsibility of the Security Council itself and the credibility of the United Nations. The Security Council, which is responsible for maintaining peace and international security, is exceeding its jurisdictional boundaries by randomly devoting all its efforts to fabricating justifications and groundless reasons for continuing the blockade. The blockade continues in spite of Iraq's compliance with the conditions imposed on it by the Security Council. Therefore, they properly interpret this insistence as racist, and one that pays no attention to the tragedy and the suffering that the blockade has caused to a deep-rooted civilized people that has shared in a distinguished way in building human civilization. This situation is considered a violation of the provisions of the Charter, which is built on the foundation of respect for equality in rights among peoples.

Human rights organizations, lawyers' unions, nongovernmental societies, and humanitarian organizations presented, on the first day of the conference, their position on the crimes and violation confirmed by the legal experts. They attributed the crimes and violations to the United States and its allies, a topic that was an object of elaborate discussions in the 6 February session, which was headed by Mr. Amin Shaqir from Jordan. Dr. Safiyya Safwa spoke and many participants commented, and the discussion eventually led to the support and confirmation of what was said in the main paper of the [conference's] work presented by the international law experts. The second part related to the effect of the crimes of the blockade on human rights, whether applying in particular to the legal aspects mentioned in the paper or relating to interpretation and factual attestation of the dangerous effects that have arisen by continuing to impose the blockade, for three years and in a severe way,

and what have arisen from it in terms of continual deterioration in the social life, living conditions, and health, cultural, and environmental conditions that continue to threaten the basic, precious means of human subsistence. The participants in this conference expressed their resentment and their anger at the continued insistence on violating the Iraqi people's right to precious life. They registered their condemnation of the policies and positions that some of the governments are still taking, particularly the governments of the Western alliance under the leadership of the United States regarding the economic embargo imposed on Iraq and their continued pressure on the Security Council to prevent its taking another serious look at its decisions (in accordance with which the economic embargo was imposed) with the goal of eliminating them or abolishing them completely in order to end the justifications for them. They also expressed their astonishment at the size of the damage that touched the family life of the Iraqi family and social relationships in general as a result of the loss of infants and children and heads of large families due to a deficiency of food and medicine, as the number of deaths among children demonstrate and according to the official statistics accompanying the documents presented in the conference, and the psychological suffering and grief arising from that.

Part of the conference was dedicated to the Muslim, Christian, and Sabean religious men. This session was opened on 7 February. Dr. Ibrahim Zaid al-Kilaani was chosen to head this session. A group of religious men representing the Christian and Mandeian Sabean religions and all their sects in Iraq and the Arab countries, traveling from Islamic and foreign countries, spoke. They all expressed their agreement that the procedure that imposes the blockade on the Iraqi people is illegitimate because the divine books do not allow starving people or killing them unjustly, or humiliating them, abusing their generosity, or distinguishing between them and their fellow nationalities because of race, religion, language, or color. They cited in their studies and their contributions texts from the Holy Koran and from the Old or New Testaments or the sayings of the prophets that urge human beings to have love for their human brothers and [to practice] brotherliness among the sons of the human race and prevent humanity's oppression of its human brothers, whether in their life, their money, their power or their faith. They all, without exception, criticized the tyranny of America and its oppression of those peoples and governments of the world that refuse to subject their will to the will of the United States Government. This is what they are undertaking against the people and the leadership of faithful and struggling Iraq that practices brotherliness among the religions and respects all religions on the principle that all the faithful are brothers. Likewise, they registered their condemnation of war crimes that America and its allies have committed against the long-suffering and fighting people of Iraq.

The speakers and participants made sure to extend greetings to the great people of Iraq and their leader and

symbol of their solidarity, President Commander-in-Chief Saddam Husayn, who endures, along with his people of Iraq, all this injury because of refusing to follow the wish of foreign powers and, in particular, his rejection of the imperialist American control over the destinies and riches of the Arab nation. This injury is a result also of his rejection of [the United States'] devotion to humiliating the countries of the South and causing them to miss the opportunity to achieve advancement and growth and mastery of science and technology, intending to maintain their backwardness and exclusion from opportunities for growth and to put obstacles in front of them by the tyrannical power that it possesses and the ability to pressure, based on this power.

Likewise, all the participants made sure to express their pleasure with the Iraqi miracle of constructing, building, and restoring, by its own abundant capabilities and by total dependence on itself, what the war destroyed. They considered the experience of Iraq in confronting the destructive effects of the war that the United States and its allies launched against them, in spite of the blockade [already] imposed on it, an unrivaled example to be followed, in addition to its being an indication of the vitality of the Arab nation, its steadfastness, and its capacity for confrontation [of problems] and endurance.

Before the end of the conference's business, in the session just before the concluding one, the participants decided to form three drafting committees, for each of the three main issues that were discussed to make recommendations concerning each of the three issues in light of the working papers and participants' contributions. The three committees met on the evening of the 27th in the south hall of the al-Rashid hotel in which the proceedings of this conference are taking place jointly with their curriculum. They noticed that most of the participants' suggestions were primarily founded on the ideas that the international law experts' paper mentioned. Since these suggestions were interconnected, the drafting committees considered the arrangement among themselves in order to prevent repetition, and they found that the participants in the conference decided unanimously on the following joint recommendations:

1. The issuance of statements of affliction and a verdict of guilty expressing the participants' disapproval of the war crimes and violations of human rights and international humanitarian law caused by the blockade on Iraq. No legal or legitimate justification is found that permits the United States and its allies to impose this kind of tyrannical blockade and to continue to impose it in spite of the human tragedy that has been caused by it. It is considered a crime against humanity that is worthy of a verdict of guilty and of consequences and of setting in motion the rules of international responsibility that are appropriate because they are a basis for Iraq to demand just and comprehensive compensation for the damage caused by the violations of international humanitarian law and the adjoining laws of war, as a result of enemy war-like actions.



2. The demand and urging of the human rights organizations and societies working in the legal, political, and religious fields to undertake individual and collective efforts to make known in their countries the war's and blockade's crimes and to pressure their governments and build international public opinion to demand a lifting of the blockade imposed on the Iraqi people. The existence of this method will bring all the peoples eager for their independence and their sovereignty face to face with it. It is practiced now against the people of Iraq with severity and is practiced in differing degrees against other countries in the Third World as a means of political pressure on the political organizations that do not defer to the wishes of the robbery of the United States of America and its allies.

3. The call of the legal and people's nongovernmental organizations for the issuing of publications and periodicals and undertaking active media efforts that disclose to public opinion in their countries the size of the material and significant human damage that has touched the people of Iraq and the accomplishments that their effort and struggle have built over decades. These media efforts should also make clear the dimensions and effects of the blockade and the lack of legitimacy of its continuing. The dimensions and effects of its being imposed in this arbitrary way—which is rejected by the general human conscience—and that it shamefully violates the rules of international humanitarian law should also be made clear. The legal experts' paper should be authorized as a basis for this movement and working towards spreading it.

4. The call for the accounting of the people responsible for the war crimes that were committed against the people of Iraq as a result of the significant violations of the allied Western states' war operations led by the United States of America and, in particular, the political and military leaders that gave the orders to bomb inhabited shelters and bury alive Iraqi soldiers in their places, to attack civilian centers and residential concentrations, to launch blind attacks and not take the necessary precautions to guard against civilian casualties, and to practice a type of crime of continuous, collective annihilation resulting from the insistence on continuing to impose the blockade in a way that expresses its imposers' contempt for the simplest human values. These violations are also witnessed in the leaders' lack of mindfulness of the human casualties that befell the Iraqi people, especially with respect to the deaths of children as a result of the deficiency in food or loss of medicine and as a result of the United States' and its allies' declaration as states devoid of divine religions. These religions reject unequivocally what they undertook in using inhuman methods that the divine laws do not consent to, by a blockade in medicines and food imposed on the people of Iraq. Usually, that is a groundless criminal action against God and against humanity.

5. The undertaking of an effective and influential action towards the United Nations directly, its specialized agencies and their centers and offices in all the states,

without exception, by way of memoranda, meetings, and the expression of objection to their negativity towards what the people of Iraq have endured as a result of the blockade and the creation of the economic embargo, which was based on the decisions of the Security Council. It has lost all the groundless justifications that it was based on. The powers active in the United Nations system began to use the agencies of the international organization to execute their illegitimate policies at the expense of honor, bread, freedom, and human rights in the countries that oppose procedures of this kind, as a result of the United States' pressure on the international organizations because its uniqueness or isolation as a single power controlling the international system.

6. The revelation and exposure of the double standard followed in international politics and the exploitation of the United States and its allies of human rights as a means of political pressure or for encouraging divisive tendencies, threatening the sovereignty of states, and working towards their crumbling on ancestral or denominational grounds. Also, assuring the exposure of the sabotaging role that the United States undertakes in the international system's present situation and exposing the Zionist influences that push the United States in this direction.

7. The formation of committees from the nongovernmental Arab and international organizations to undertake voluntary work that aims toward making clear the justice of the issue of the Iraqi people on the condition that the Arab organizations carry the responsibility for pursuing the implementation of this suggestion and they outline and put in place the methods of planning and pursuit among themselves.

8. Working toward the arrangement of an international day of solidarity with Iraq in its ordeal, including a general strike or any other method that expresses effective solidarity with the people of Iraq and its leadership, with the vocational and labor unions, and the other nongovernmental organizations arranging it and mixing conferences and festivities with it.

9. The declaration of rejection of discrimination in the treatment of human rights issues and the exposure of the evil intentions that the United States has striven to fulfill against Iraq through the exploitation of this issue for the sake of fabricating justifications for the continuance of the blockade, and its expansion and exploitation in taking possession of Iraq's sovereignty and the unity of its lands by impeding Iraq's practice of its sovereignty and imposing blockade zones in its north and its south, which is considered a scandalous interference in its internal affairs that patently violates Paragraph 7, Article 2 of the United Nations Charter, being inconsistent with the right to self-determination of the sole Iraqi people and their right to choose their political and economic system without mandate or decree or foreign interference reminiscent of decayed imperialist methods.

In conclusion, it is appropriate to mention that the participants in the international conference, concerning the war crimes and violations of the United States and its allies against human rights in Iraq, concluded the business of their international conference after ratifying the concluding report and approving the recommendations and statements of the verdict of guilty attached to this report in the closing session, which was held in the hall of the al-Rashid Hotel with the attendance of all the participants, at 1900, Tuesday, 8 February 1994, corresponding to 27 Shaban 1414 of the Hijra.

**Blockade Condemned by Visiting Christian Clergy**  
*94LH0044A Baghdad ALIF BA' in Arabic 9 Mar 94 p 9*

[Interview with visiting Christian clergy, by Mustafa Kamil; place and date not given: "Blockade Condemned by Visiting Christian Clergy"]

[Text] A delegation, which included their graces from among the Catholic patriarchs of some Eastern Churches, visited Iraq from 28 February to 6 March, at the invitation of the Ministry of Awqaf and Religious Affairs and his Grace Rufa'il I Biydawiid, the patriarch of Babil for Chaldeans and the Iraqi Church. This visit expressed the absolute support of these patriarchs for the Iraqi people in their confrontation of the unfair blockade that has been imposed on them.

ALIF BA' met a number of their graces representing the Eastern Catholic Churches who spoke to ALIF BA' about their visit's mission and results.

Patriarch Stifanus II Ghattas of the Coptic Church and St. Mark's missionary in Cairo, affirmed at the beginning of his talk his church's absolute support of and standing by the faithful Iraqi people and leadership. He said: "The visit of a delegation of Eastern Catholic patriarchs at this time has as a goal reinforcing brotherly relations and strengthening cooperation with and support to the Iraqi people. The visit further affirms the support of the Eastern Catholic Churches to the struggling Iraqi people in their persistent confrontation of the circumstances of the tyrannical economic blockade, which was imposed on Iraq through the use of force and arrogance by the unfair powers that control the world. All religions, blessed heavenly doctrines, international laws, and religious institutions condemn this blockade."

He further expressed his deep confidence in the capability of the Iraqi people to overcome this crisis saying: "We join the patient Iraqi people and the world liberals in raising our voices to demand the lifting of the vicious blockade so that Iraqis could meet their human needs."

His Grace Archbishop Bulus Emil Sa'adah, the deputy general patriarch of the Maronite Church in Lebanon, expressed his happiness at visiting Iraq and affirmed that this visit was one of support and love for the brotherly Iraqi people who have faith in the one God. Archbishop Sa'adah said: "In Isaiah, Chapter 52 tells us about this

humanitarian approach when it states: 'How great are the steps taken by those who herald peace, righteousness, and salvation.'"

He said: "The people of Iraq will overcome all suffering thanks to the President-leader Saddam Husayn's leadership and also thanks to the people's unity and solidarity as well as their rallying around their faithful leadership." He also mentioned the brotherly Lebanese people who suffered from civil war, yet, who, thanks to their national solidarity and unity, could contain and stop the war and attain peace and security.

Archbishop Sa'adah further said: "We pray to the One and Only God to have mercy upon the martyrs and place them into heaven as they have sacrificed with their scented blood and pure souls for the nation's pride and the people's dignity."

He further affirmed that: "The tyrannical course of injustice was very short-lived because this invasion of Iraq was doomed to fail and these vicious imperialistic plots to go with the wind; Iraqis would manage to reconstruct what the malicious aggressors have destroyed with self-help and with a speed that would call for admiration and impart happiness to the soul."

His Grace Yuhanna Butrus 18 Kasparyan from the Armenian Catholic Church in Lebanon saluted the Iraqi leadership, most importantly President Saddam Husayn, for the good care given to all sects and religions that enabled them to practice their rites and rituals freely and securely.

He described the continued imposition of the blockade on the Iraqi people, men and women, of all ethnic groups, religions and sects, as an outrageous violation of human rights and a vicious aggression on heavenly legislation and God's commandments, both of which call for respecting and revering humans and working seriously for their comfort and happiness.

His Grace Patriarch Mishal al-Sabbah from the Jerusalem Latin Church in Jordan prayed to the Almighty God to lift the injustice and tyranny that the Iraqi people suffer because of the continued imposition of the worst blockade in human history, which has been imposed on 20 million people including the elderly and the children, the sick, and the healthy.

He called upon all philanthropic organizations as well as on those peace-loving personalities who support people's freedom and their right to a secure and dignified life, to do their utmost in order to put pressure on the governments of the great nations, the United Nations and the Security Council, in order to immediately and completely lift all kinds of sanctions, so that the Iraqi people could be provided with all their basic needs.

His Grace George al-Murr, the Amman Archbishop for the Royal Roman Catholic Church, described the crime that the forces of the evil thirty-nation alliance committed against al-'Amiriyah shelter as the most atrocious

incident that he had ever witnessed. In this incident, people were killed because of a deliberate crime; innocent souls were delivered up to God in order to complain about the injustice of humans to each other so that this would represent a loud cry of outrage and protest against the barbarism and aggression as well as against aggression and violence.

As for the Assyrian Church in Lebanon, His Grace Mikha'il al-Jamil, the deputy patriarch general, in response to the wicked people's barbarism and aggression, described the rehabilitation achievements, specially in the areas of construction and development, as a real victory for the values of justice, goodness and peace. He said: God Above has blessed the Iraqi efforts, be it those of the Iraqi people or that of its leadership; God has granted these struggling and patient people the will and capability to reconstruct all that the aggressor destroyed in the most atrocious aggression against civilization and development; we are very glad to have seen these achievements.

He further expressed his confidence in the capability of the great Iraqi people to overcome all calamities and difficulties because they have an enlightened leadership that has deep faith and a strong relentless will. The Iraqis also had access to an accumulation of inherited culture dating back to more than 6,000 years.

His Holiness Father Sannun Andrawus, member of the delegation's secretariat, director of the Voice of Love radio station, and the public relations official, said: "Since the end of war and the silencing of canons, the cultural and intellectual struggle started because the Arab world currently faces a media struggle. It is, therefore, that the responsibility of the media delegation, which comprises 20 persons representing 10 press agencies and radio and television stations, is to portray the sad situation caused by the continued unjust blockade imposed on the Iraqi people. Heavenly religions as well as the laws and customs of civilization could not understand the rationale of this state of affairs and human history has not known the like of it. By portraying this picture, the media delegation hopes that the international conscience could feel—however slightly—this great people's suffering."

### Interior Ministry Explains Rising Prices

94LH0046A Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic  
27 Mar 94 p 8

[Article by Ghazi al-'Ayyash]

[Text] The Iraqi Cabinet follows up all that the press publishes about issues dealing with citizens. The Interior Ministry is one of the active ministries with regard to finding solutions to many of the issues dealing with citizens that are published in the press. Many people follow up on TV the interior minister's, Watban Ibrahim al-Hasan, weekly meeting with citizens, because this meeting is proof that the official is seeking the truth and exposes it—in its entirety—extremely frankly to citizens.

In addition, the Interior minister's willingness to listen to citizens encourages them to tell him the whole truth without reluctance or fear. We would like to thank the Cabinet for commenting on the article about the absence of competition, which was published on 20 February 1994. The Cabinet requested the Interior Ministry's views and comments about the article. Following is the response that the Cabinet received from the Interior Ministry and a copy that the ministry sent us, while requesting our comments about its second paragraph. The response states that the prices of sweet potatoes, rose because of the increased demand for them during the month of Ramadan and the decline of production during the fall season. Sweet potato prices rose both before and after Ramadan. This season's production is more than that of the last season; prices for the last season did not reach more than half those for this season. In spite of the fact that growers tried to keep sweet potatoes in the ground as long as possible, there is plenty of supply in markets this season. This fact reinforces our statement. We also affirm that there are hundreds of trucks loaded with sweet potatoes waiting at al-'Alawi so that sellers could speculate on prices. The reason the high price reached 40 dinars per kilogram is that, although sweet potatoes have been available in markets, so far, the Ministry of Agriculture has not yet fixed their price.

To the Cabinet Secretariat:

Please accept the ministry's best regards...

Referring to your correspondence M/2136 of 22 February 1994, we would like to make the following remarks:

1. The ministry's responsible department continues to monitor and follow up all factors that may impact on the easy flow of exposed goods. As a result of this monitoring, a large number of violators are apprehended daily in the different distribution centers and subjected to the required legal procedures. For example, during the two months of January and February 1994, 4,079 violators were apprehended.
2. The article referred to sweet potato prices in the domestic markets. It should be indicated that prices for sweet potatoes have not yet been fixed, therefore, the prices rose because of both the greater demand for sweet potatoes during the month of Ramadan and the decrease in the production of the fall season. The statement in the article referring to the hundreds of loaded trucks at al-'Alawi awaiting the highest prices possible is not a precise one, because prices of sweet potatoes in the domestic market are subject to the mechanism of supply and demand.
3. There are a few major reasons for the fact that grocery stores do not adhere to the prices fixed for goods such as sweet potatoes and cauliflower. One of the reasons is that grocery stores are distributed over large geographical areas. Baghdad is a case in point where grocery stores are to be found on all streets—big and small. Another reason is that Baghdad's distribution centers work around the

clock. A third reason is that citizens do not cooperate, and many of them are not aware of the prices of goods, which are not made public by the media.

We would also like to indicate that the Economics Department held some meetings with representatives of sales offices and grocery store owners to enlighten them and indicated to them the necessity of adhering to fixed prices as this matter concerns citizens' daily food. We are also monitoring those producers who are not selling their products at al-'Alawi; legal procedures such as impounding, confiscating goods, imposing fines, and closing sales offices have been taken against violators. This is for your information, with our appreciation.

Watban Ibrahim al-Hasan  
Interior Minister

### **Iraqi Opposition, Activities Reviewed, Analyzed**

94LH0052A London AL-HAYAH in Arabic  
27 Apr 94 p 17

[Article by Jawad al-Ha'iri, an Iraqi writer living in Britain: "Exiled Opposition and Exiled Peoples"]

[Text] The Iraqi opposition is one of a number of other Arab and Middle Eastern opposition movements that have in recent years emigrated en masse from their homelands to exile. This has occurred within the framework of an unfamiliar experience. Within this experience, opposition members leave their countries in numbers amounting to millions to use countries in the diaspora as new working arenas for their political activity in an endeavor to perpetuate the bridges of communication with their peoples inside the homeland and to mobilize these peoples in the direction of the goals that these opposition movements seek. An exception is the Turkish condition and the early Kurdish mass emigration resulting from the national fusion policy embraced by the new state in the wake of the fall of the Ottoman caliphate.

Mass emigration to flee the homeland under the pressure of various factors is something that was experienced by the people of East Europe during the Stalinist era prior to and after World War II. Despite the curtain lowered around those countries, they witnessed numerous mass escape attempts throughout nearly one-half century. Border stations surrounding those countries saw a flood of refugees who, with the passage of time, came to form ethnic minorities exceeding hundreds of thousands in their new homelands.

Prior to the sixth and seventh decades [of the 1900s], the Middle East did not see the rise of totalitarian regimes similar to the regimes seen now. This does not mean that the area's countries have not tried their luck with certain despotic regimes. Rather, these countries have perhaps abounded with examples of military and non-military

individualistic and despotic regimes. But more often than not, they were temperamental and superficial regimes.

Opposition to those regimes emerged and was often conducted peacefully, despite the persecution and oppression that accompanied that opposition. But that persecution and oppression were within the bounds of the bearable and one could withstand them. This is why opposition movements and their supporters, and even ordinary citizens, did not consider emigration to the outside world. Many of those movements were known for their attachment to their homelands and for not having a prior history of emigration and expatriation, excluding some individual cases of banishment, which was used as a maximum punishment against some active opposition elements who were deported from their countries. Many are the stories about the handfuls of soil that those deportees took with them as a reminder keeping them company in their exile.

But at a time when most of the world's political regimes moved in the direction of openness, of spreading a democratic climate, and of respect for man's freedom and rights, the tendencies toward totalitarian rule have grown stronger in the past two decades in the Middle East region and the Arab homeland. It is as if these two regions want to establish themselves as the alternative to the failed [totalitarian] experience in East Europe. This is why contentment with power from above is no longer the distinguishing mark of these regimes' activity. Rather, some of these regimes have turned into brutally suppressive regimes that are not reluctant to embrace the scorched land policy at the first confrontation with their peoples.

Since 1968 and under the shadow of this tendency and of the death machine that has been hysterically devouring any citizen who stands in its way, Iraq's politicized and unpoliticized citizens have been compelled to wage a bloody and rarely-matched struggle in the region in an attempt to confront the barbaric tide coming from within. They have made thousands of sacrifices. But with every sacrifice made, the regime's lust for predation grew stronger and stronger. In the face of this unbearable pressure, a way had to be found to deal with this regime. Thus, mass emigration and escape, plus the coercive expulsions practiced by the regime itself, became some sort of self-defense against total and inevitable annihilation. For nearly 20 years, new numbers have been added daily to an emigration that the Iraqis have not wanted and that they have never before experienced in their lives.

The Iraqi people have been divided into those who are exiled inside their homeland and those exiled outside it, shedding hot tears for kinsmen who have survived. From exile, the crowds are trying to organize themselves within political frameworks, some of which are an extension of what has existed at home, and to coordinate joint efforts with the movement at home in order to besiege and shatter the regime. But a positive circumstance has



developed in the Iraqi opposition's political and field reality through the deliverance of that part of the homeland that has been liberated from the regime's control. This part has turned into a base that embraces the opposition movement's new political framework, which bears the name of the Iraqi National Congress [INC] and which includes influential Arab and Kurdish organizations and cadres. Thus, the beginning of the process of a counter political emigration to this part of the homeland has been created. With the new experiment gaining more strength day after day despite all obstacles placed in its way, the justifications for continued dealing with opposition action from abroad are weakening day after day and may reach the point where all excuses cited for staying away from home will be poor excuses lacking all objective foundations. However, there is no harm in reviewing some perils, which some forces cite to justify this position [of staying away from the liberated Kurdistan]:

First, the incompatibility of these forces' positions with the INC program and plan and, consequently, these forces' development of a different political position that reaches the point of condemnation at times. Assuming that this faction's position is sound, this should not be a reason for these forces to refrain from going to a part of the homeland that is not under the regime's control. If they believe that there are foreign forces that have a role in creating this reality, then do they prefer that this reality melt away and that, consequently, the province return to the regime's control? Or is it better to move to this base and to try to contribute to correcting any correctable negative tendencies and pitfalls?

Second, some influential figures justify the presence of this vast number of leaders and cadres outside the homeland by saying that they have inside the homeland enough leaders and cadres to meet the needs of the action according to the circumstances of the phase. It is very difficult to prove the soundness of these statements for a very simple reason, namely that the indicator of qualitative movement against the regime was at its peak at the end of the Iraq-Iran war. This shows that numerous factions preferred at the time to cling to the land, to seek its protection, and to face dangers rather than emigrate to move beyond the regime's reach. Thus, we have seen the emergence of a strange condition in the struggle against the regime. When the regime was strong and supported by several regional and international forces, resistance by these factions was stiffer and more effective. The numerous qualitative and distinctive operations that were staged in Baghdad and its suburbs at the time are an indication that it was possible to penetrate the regime's red lines, despite this regime's brutality and strength. But for the past three years, and excluding the major uprising of March 1991—an uprising which nobody may claim as his own—we have seen clearly how this kind of operation has diminished and how it has retreated deep into the marshlands and to the surrounding areas in the south. The qualitative operations have turned into hit-and-run operations to

which the regime has become accustomed. These operations pose no strategic threat to this regime, considering that they have turned into intermittent and disorganized diversionary operations lacking a unified command and a precise strategic goal. However, this fact does not negate the unique spirit of heroism displayed by those unknown fighters in the south's marshlands and cities.

Third, there is a fact whose revelation will change nothing about it, namely that the regime prefers, perhaps even encourages, the presence and continuation of some sort of limited and calculated resistance in the southern and southeastern sectors of Iraq, i.e., those sectors whose extensions spill into Iran in some cases. The regime's objective is to continue to disseminate the allegations it has been making, and it continues to make, namely that the post-revolution Iran is responsible for nurturing and fanning the fires of this condition.

I have cited these justifications regarding the reservations expressed on operating from the liberated areas of the Iraqi Kurdistan so as to get to the common problems that the opposition movement in exile generally encounters and which can be summed as follows:

1. In today's word, talk about total independence, whether political or economic, and at times even cultural, has become a figment of the imagination. If regimes themselves cannot establish for themselves in today's word an independent entity in the true, not the propaganda, sense of the word, then it behooves political opposition movements not to envision themselves in a position that allows them complete freedom of movement and decisionmaking. The Iraqi opposition, which is pressured and besieged, is certainly compelled to soften its political rhetoric and vision in a way that befits this or that regional or international party, depending on the intellectual, operational, and geographic background from which the organization concerned proceeds.

This dilemma from which the Iraqi opposition suffers is nothing new. A party seeking asylum is always supposed to observe the rules of asylum. However, the problem arises when the objectives of the regional or international power clash with the legitimate national aspirations of this or that opposition faction. This problem influences the momentum and efficiency of the joint and unified action of the entire movement negatively. But when the possibilities of action from a liberated part of the homeland materialize, action under the umbrella of this or that foreign party is not so much a must as it is insistence on tying affairs in a way that serves the interests of those foreign parties.

2. What has become known about opposition from exile is that leaders well known to the masses assume leadership of this opposition's struggle and direct it according to the given facts of the domestic situation because it is impossible for such leaders to perform this role from inside the homeland. Because of the black fascist situation prevailing in Iraq, those who lead the political and organizational action are not the only ones who have

emigrated. Rather, they have been accompanied by an immense mass exodus. The problem is that many of the emigrants have been turned by their new circumstances and by the activities of the parties and movements surrounding them into politicized cadres that burden the leaderships and block their path to deliberate, calm, and responsible consideration. This condition has forced many of these leaders into confused and hesitant positions whose aim is to please and appease these cadres. Consequently, political action in exile has largely turned into confused and distorted action.

3. The more positive and important aspect in the exiled opposition's movements and activities is the role they play to expose the regime and show its ugly face through information confirmed with figures and facts received from home. This aspect is then embodied in the political moves they make to reap the fruits of the impact of this information on the positions of the world's various governments and peoples toward the struggle. This is why a unified rhetoric in the external propaganda is necessary, even a must. But because of the political positions of some opposition elements abroad, this propaganda rhetoric has become pale and contradictory, and it has begun to undermine the results sought from it.

4. Despite the displays put up by some of those who are abroad, the opposition in exile continues to be a ghost opposition in which the serious mixes with the farcical, the true with the false, thus making it easy for the enemy to infiltrate it and, at times, to change its direction in ways that serve his purposes. Opposition at home is the sincere, serious, and real opposition.

5. Prolonged years in exile often transform opposition gradually into a state of addiction. Consequently, affairs are tackled with chatter, oneupmanship, and competition for social status. The longer the regime survives, the more duped some opposition elements become. Such a condition constitutes a negative phenomenon for Iraq's future, because the phase that will follow the regime's fall needs a positive modern mentality.

6. An opposition in exile that is aware of its responsibility is an opposition capable of establishing definite and organized daily operational contact with its people at home, constantly supplying them with all the requirements of military resistance, both mobilizational and financial. This opposition is never contented with the strategy of selling words.

The experience of the March 1991 uprising proved the complete opposite of the above. All sectors at home moved forth. But the distance between them and the leaders in exile was very great and the latter could not catch up with the uprising in order to perform the role they had drafted.

Finally, if the opposition in exile enjoys its stay, and if it stays where it is for a lengthy time, it turns into a desperate opposition. Fascist regimes do not care if all their adversaries emigrate, as long as they remain safe

from these adversaries. These regimes do not care what names these organizations give themselves.

Totalitarian regimes have contributed to creating opposition-in-exile movements and, consequently, peoples in exile. The process of devoiding homelands can be stopped only if democracy and respect for the citizen are followed as a path to achieve political and social justice.

## SAUDI ARABIA

### Minister Discusses Mineral Resources

94AE0107A London AL-HAYAH in Arabic  
21 Apr 94 p 9

[Article by 'Umar Jastanih: "Saudi Territory Has Large Reserves of Mineral Deposits"]

[Text] Mr. Muhammad Dahlawi [name as transliterated], deputy assistant for mining investments in the Saudi Ministry of Petroleum and Mineral Resources, in an interview with AL-HAYAH, said that Saudi territory has considerable reserves of deposits of many minerals and that geological survey work is still being carried out after initial studies gave evidence of the existence of many industrial and non-industrial minerals in various parts of Saudi Arabia.

He added that, during the next phase, there will be further development of the previous exploratory studies that will focus on some minerals such as gold. Initial exploratory studies have shown evidence of the existence of some 800 gold deposit areas in Saudi Arabia. Concluding studies concerning two other projects are also expected to be completed soon. The first of these is the project dealing with the exploitation of aluminum bauxite, the initial costs of which are estimated at about \$45 million and the production capacity of which would be in excess of 100 million tons. The second project deals with the exploitation of zinc, along the lines of [other such] projects recently submitted for approval.

He said that the initial geological survey studies have indicated the existence of some rare minerals, and that studies dealing with these minerals would require specialized exploratory operations in order to show evidence of the existence of mineral ores in a form that can be beneficially exploited.

The General Directorate for Mineral Resources has already put out 11 publications dealing with the minerals that have been discovered in Saudi territory, some of which have already been exploited and some of which soon will be exploited commercially. These publications contain complete information concerning mineral ore reserves—where they are located, their uses, the nations that produce them, and their prices on the international market. The Saudi Directorate for Mineral Resources started putting out these publications in March of 1989. It started with magnesite ( $MgCO_3$ ), then continued with kaolin, gold, phosphate, limestone, calcium carbonate

(CaCO<sub>3</sub>), copper, chiseled and decorative stones, zinc, glass sand, silica sand (SiO<sub>2</sub>), and gypsum.

Recently the directorate published a complete atlas dealing with industrial minerals in Saudi territory and distributed it to both Saudi and foreign companies interested in mining projects.

Saudi Arabia's objective in doing this is to encourage the private sector (domestic) to embark on large-scale mining investments, and the Ministry of Petroleum and Mineral Resources is taking part in the furnishing of economic feasibility studies for many of the projects that are being submitted for approval for commercial exploitation.

### Iron and Phosphate Projects

According to Saudi officials, there is a trend toward completing the base of the mining industry and achieving more development in Saudi Arabia during the coming years by means of various mining projects.

According to Dahlawi, two iron and phosphate projects were recently submitted for approval after economic feasibility studies concerning them were completed. Companies that will bid for the iron project will first study the feasibility studies undertaken by the Directorate for Mineral Resources which present investors with a number of options. The first of these involves the construction of a plant for the production of iron balls on the Red Sea coast, with a production capacity of up to 2.2 million tons, and which will cost \$550 million. The second option involves the construction of a plant for producing 4 million tons, which would cost \$750 million. The third option would involve the construction of a plant to produce 3 million tons that would cost \$600 million.

He pointed out that the economic feasibility studies undertaken by the Directorate for Mineral Resources have already determined which markets will take the final mineral ore product, which would be extracted and used in direct reduction plants that would utilize the latest modern technology available in the world both in the Arab world and in the nations of East Asia.

It is a known fact that Saudi Arabia currently imports more than 4 million tons of iron from Sweden, Brazil, and some other countries, the total value of which is between \$50 and \$52 per ton.

Dahlawi, during the interview, brought up the subject of the talks that were held between the Directorate of Mineral Resources and the Saudi Industrial Development Fund (SIDF) and said that the latter is prepared to offer loans to investors for the mining industry projects currently being submitted for approval.

He went on to say: "Everything having to do with the loans will be the subject of a detailed discussion between the Fund bank [SIDF] and the company that undertakes the project."

As we know, SIDF participates in almost all industrial projects in Saudi Arabia whose total value is at least SR400 million.

Dahlawi expects a good response on the part of some international firms to join with Saudi partners in investing in the exploitation of iron, especially in view of the existence of markets for the sale of the final product. He said that Wadi al-Sawawin's production of iron meets the requirements of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf nations combined and saves about 60 percent of the import bill for iron ore for Saudi Arabia alone.

### Minister Urges Electricity Conservation

94AE0106A London AL-HAYAH in Arabic  
18 Apr 94 p 9

[Article by Mustafa Shihab: "Al-Zamil Emphasizes Need for Conservation of Electricity Consumption in Saudi Arabia"]

[Text] The Saudi minister of industry and electricity, Engineer 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Zamil, emphasized the need for conservation of electric power consumption in Saudi Arabia. In this regard, he called upon government organizations, especially companies, in addition to citizens and [foreign] residents, to respond to the need to conserve the utilization of electrical apparatuses.

Al-Zamil, in a meeting with journalists the day before yesterday after he signed a contract with the Middle East Engineering and Development Corporation dealing with expanding the Tabuk power plant, said that the total amount of electricity consumed in Saudi Arabia last year was 15,000 megawatts, whereas the total amount produced was 18,000 megawatts, with 2,500 megawatts being produced by desalinization plants on the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

The minister emphasized that the abundance in the electricity produced does not mean that there is an abundance of electricity available for all areas of the country. He indicated that electricity production and utilization differ from area to area and that "this is why there remains an urgent need to conserve consumption, especially in the areas where the demand is particularly heavy."

### Wasteful Consumption

He said: "There is at least a 20 percent waste in consumption." In this regard, he said that the ministry will cooperate with the General Electricity Organization to implement an integrated program for the conservation of power consumption, in accordance with measures that are in effect in various nations of the world.

Al-Zamil expects that, during the next three months, a contract will be signed for constructing the ninth power plant, between Riyadh and al-Qasim, which will serve the central area of the country in addition to the capital

city of Riyadh. He said that the bids submitted by the companies are being studied right now.

Sources expect the General Electric Corporation to play a role in the construction of the new plant. The lowest bid for the construction of the plant was 3 billion riyals [SR] (\$800 million).

In addition to this, he announced plans for the expansion of power plants in the following cities in the northern area: al-Jawf, 'Ar'ar, Rafha, and al-Qurayyat. In this regard, he said that one of the options being considered in this sector was the possibility of setting up a unified power company in this area.

The Saudi minister of industry and electricity, together with Engineer Mahmud Tibah, the head of the General Electricity Organization, signed a contract for the expansion of the Tabuk power plant with Mr. 'Abdallah al-'Utayshan [name as transliterated], chairman of the board of the Middle East Engineering and Development Company, Ltd. (MEEDCO). The value of the contract, which is to be implemented within 24 months, is SR230 million.

#### Expansion Details

Al-Zamil mentioned that the contract includes the construction of two power units having a total capacity of 120 megawatts. The contract also includes provision of all the other requirements pertaining to technical support, spare parts, and maintenance. Also included is the mechanical [engineering] work pertaining to the fuel system, fire fighting, the compressed air system, and the necessary mechanical hoisting apparatuses. Likewise, the contract includes the electrical [engineering] work pertaining to the main transformers and generators, the civil [engineering] work pertaining to expansion and laying out of roads, a water purification system, cable lines, and also the training of Saudi technical engineers and an insurance engineer for the project.

He said that the contract was one of the important things being done in the northern area (Tabuk), in view of the steady increase in the work being undertaken as a result of the industrial and agricultural development and population increase taking place in the area.

MEEDCO, which won the contract, was founded in 1978 with a capital of SR10 million. The chairman of the board, 'Abdallah al-'Utayshan, contributed 51 percent of this amount, and 49 percent was furnished by the South Korean firm Hyundai.

The company began its activity in the field of construction by implementing the Ministry of Defense's housing project in the Tabuk area. Then the company switched over to the field of electricity. At the present time it is implementing contracts for the expansion of three substations that are part of the Riyadh electrical system, in addition to [a contract involving] [delete bracket] the Bani Malik Station in the area of Jizan.

#### New Saudi Construction Projects in 'Asir, Mecca

##### New 'Asir Governorate Complex Completed

94AE0116A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
6 May 94 p 11

[Article by 'Abdallah Kuraydim: "Inauguration of New 'Asir Provincial Government Building in Abha"]

[Text] Prince Nayif Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz, the Saudi minister of interior, the day before yesterday (Thursday) inaugurated the new provincial government building of the province of 'Asir, and those present during the inauguration included his deputy, Prince Amad Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz, and Prince Khalid al-Faysal, governor of the province of 'Asir.

Construction of the building cost more than 140 million Saudi riyals [SR] (\$37 million) and took six months, and the building occupies a total area of 36,000 square meters. It consists of six towers that are connected to a series of roads and other buildings. Each tower is six stories high, and the building has parking areas and is equipped with the latest in communications technology, office equipment, computers, and informational technology. The building is built in the style typical of the province of 'Asir and its capital city Abha. AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT has learned that the estimated total expenditures for the building and its annexes was about SR310 million. The total was this high because it was necessary to compensate the owners of the real estate adjacent to the building, to prepare the ground surrounding this area, and to increase the surrounding planted green-belt area.

The office of Engineer Ziyad Zaydan supervised the implementation of the project and worked on its architectural designs. The firm that implemented the project was the al-Buraydi Commercial and Contracting Corporation, and the project's cost was SR80 million. The inside furnishing and equipping of the building was done by the two firms Bayt al-Riyad and Kawkash [name as transliterated], which were paid SR40 million for the job. The design of the building incorporated a new architectural concept that is in keeping with Saudi Arabia's distinctive heritage and that has the ability to develop and change from the architectural point of view in accordance with future needs.

The complex consists of two parts—the provincial government building and the building housing the principal auditorium for meetings. The latter contains amphitheatres planted with thick greenery in the form of a series of rising planted amphitheatres, and it also has a reflecting pool and several water fountains.

The total area of the province of 'Asir is 40,000 square km, and the province has a total of about 700,000 inhabitants. The city of Abha is located on a mountainous highland near the Red Sea in the southern part of Saudi Arabia, it has a distinctive climate, it is small and is characterized by a quiet life, and it has many beautiful



natural views. Abha is a rather densely-packed city, is located in a saucer-shaped elevation, and is surrounded by mountains and a green area, and there are many winding streets and roads both inside the city and on the sides of the highland area.

### Mecca Road Projects Outlined

94AE0116B London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
6 May 94 p 11

[Article by 'Abd-al-Ghaffar Mustafa: "Roads in Mecca Cost 8 Billion Riyals"]

[Text] So far the total cost of the construction of roads in Mecca has been more than 8 billion Saudi riyals [SR], and about SR50 million is spent on them every year for maintenance. All parts of Mecca have been linked to each other, and all parts of Saudi Arabia have been linked to Mecca, in order to make it easy to reach and depart from the Holy Mosque and to enable pilgrims to reach any area of Mecca and the holy places in a short time. In addition, the capacity of the roads has been increased. Furthermore, the network of tunnels that currently exists is about 28 km long, and it includes 53 tunnels of different widths and lengths.

In addition to the work done on completing the blueprint for organizing the road network and the completion of the second phase of the circular road for the southeastern area of the holy places, a circular road has been constructed that is 7 km long and 30 meters wide and a connecting road to the highway between Mecca and al-Kura has also been built. Implementation is also taking place of the second phase of connecting Roads 1, 6, 7, and 8 between the new circular road and the old circular road, in addition to implementation of the construction of eight parking areas for rest stops for pilgrim buses and locations for establishments that deal with pilgrims.

Another thing taking place now is the leveling and preparation of an area for two parking areas north of the King Faysal Bridge and construction of the second circular road which is 8.5 km long. This road goes through 14 double tunnels and has seven high points for regulating traffic between the circular road and the main streets leading to and from the Holy Mosque and the holy places. In al-Muzdalifah there are four model parking areas, of which three are along the King 'Abd-al-'Aziz Road and one along Highway 5.

The Secretariat of the City of Mecca says that its services extend to providing lighting for the streets and roads in Muna, al-Muzdalifah, and 'Arafat, and that the lighting network gets its electricity from a network of underground cables.

The secretariat also says that this network is continuing to be expanded in order that its capacity be increased in accordance with the field studies and programs dealing with the needs of each area. In addition to the services of a road network and a network of lighting for the streets

and roads, the secretariat also provides pilgrims with means of making it easier for them to participate in the pilgrimage rites and other services, including the construction of a number of slaughterhouses for the slaughter of sacrificial animals. This slaughtering is forbidden in the tents and along the streets and roads because of the concern about maintaining public health and cleanliness and in order to make sure that the slaughtering is done in a way that corresponds to Islamic law and meets health standards. There are five such slaughterhouses, all of which have places for slaughtering both by machine and by hand, refrigerators to keep the meat fresh, and living accommodations for the persons who work there. The total capacity of the slaughterhouses is between 800,000 and 1 million head of sheep and cattle.

### REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

#### Expatriates in Saudi Arabia Follow Crisis

94AE0114A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
9 May 94 p 5

[Text] People from both the Northern and Southern Yemeni communities in Saudi Arabia who are there either to work or are on a visit have gathered around radios and TV sets in an attempt to learn about the fighting that is going on in their country between the two sides.

Although the satellite channels have played a major role in broadcasting news about the events taking place in Yemen, radios still remain the basic means by which they get their news and information. The reason for this is that a great many of the Yemenis living in Saudi Arabia cannot afford to buy satellite dishes. However, in some of the Yemeni households where there are satellite dishes, people have gathered around TV sets to follow firsthand what is being broadcast by the satellite channels.

Likewise, some owners of commercial stores have said that there has been a noticeable increase in the demand for radio sets.

Both Yemeni residents and visitors are worried because telephone communications and trips by air have been cut off, and these constitute the only means by which they can properly assess what is going on in their country.

An official in the Yemeni Airlines Company said: "Large numbers of Yemenis are coming to us and asking whether or not there is a flight going to, or coming from, Yemen. Also, some passengers are having their names put on the reservation list in anticipation of flights starting up."

AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT met with some of the Yemeni residents and conducted interviews with them in order to get their reactions concerning what their thoughts have been since the war broke out in Yemen. 'Abd

Muhammad Hasan said: "I have been working in Saudi Arabia for three years. My wife and children visited me during the last month of Ramadan. Although our area is 400 miles from Sanaa, the fact that telephone connections have been cut off and flights and trips by sea have been stopped means that the situation has deteriorated."

He added: "I thought of going along with my five colleagues who returned to Yemen via the land route. But my health didn't allow me to go, and I need to get well. I don't know if my colleagues, who left Jeddah on Thursday, will be able to enter Yemen or whether or not this door will also be closed." He ended by saying: "What can I say? There is no power and no strength save in God."

#### I Can't Think Straight

Ahmad Yislam [name as transliterated] said: "Worry is killing me. I can't think straight and I can't concentrate. My brother, mother, father, and child are all there. What can I do? I don't know anything after the telephone connections were cut off and trips by air and by sea stopped going to Yemen. Now all we can do is listen to the news and follow the events and developments of the war over the TV that one of our colleagues has in his house after we finish work—which helps us to forget things for a while. But our hearts and our minds are in Yemen. Really all we can do is to humbly pray that God will put out the fire of this war, have people come to their senses, and contain the crisis before Yemen pays the price of the disturbances and losses which are more costly than disputes over authority and other interests."

#### The Radio Is My Friend

'Ali Muhammad Sa'id says: "My only friend is my radio. That is how I find out what is going on in Yemen, although I am not convinced of the truth of everything that I hear over the radio concerning the causes of the war. Yemen is too big to have someone try to divide it or exploit it for personal reasons. Whatever the disputes may be, they should not end up being fought with bullets, bombs, and missiles. The only place where brothers should wage their disputes is the negotiating table. This is the only place where these circumstances and tensions can come to an end without bloodshed. After the helping hands of our Arab brothers have been extended, the Yemenis themselves have to step in and stop this bloodshed, which is increasing every day because of the outbreak of the conflict between the two sides." He went on to say: "I am waiting to go back to Yemen, when flights resume, so that I can be reassured about my family and relatives—or whoever is still alive among them, I should say. We pray to God that justice will be done and Yemen be preserved."

#### Rise in Prices and Lack of Security

Salim Nasir says: "All I know is that there has been an increase in prices in Yemen and one is no longer safe there, and this makes life difficult. We heard promises that there would be an improvement in the situation and

that those who were corrupt and committed fraud with the wealth of the nation would be punished. But all of these resolutions remained merely pieces of paper until the war broke out. We don't know what the extent of the effects of this war will be if it is not snuffed out right away. Certain considerations, fears, and results must be taken into account before it is too late. All we can do is to wait and see what tomorrow will bring us in terms of events."

#### First and Last Group

In reply to a question about what his feelings were, Muhammad 'Abdallah said: "We have been the first and last group of pilgrims to arrive in Saudi Arabia since the airports in Yemen were bombed. We are praying to God here in the Holy Mosque [in Mecca] and in the Prophet's Mosque [in Medina] that this war will come to an end and that all the parties start a dialogue and be guided by reason."

After a moment of reflection, he added: "My wife and I left our children in Yemen. We have tried to call them on the phone, but have not been successful. Telephone communications have been cut. All we can do is follow the news, wait, and pray."

In addition to this, a fight broke out between a number of Northern and Southern Yemenis after an argument between the two sides concerning the situation in their country and the reasons for the conflict and the war. A number of people were injured, and it ended only when a number of older people intervened to stop the fight and to say that any victory by one of the two sides in Yemen would be a loss for everyone, since the killers and the persons killed, and the victors and the losers, are all Yemenis. For this reason, it is in the interests of Yemen that this war, which is being waged on its territory, be stopped.

#### Author Satirizes Attitudes Toward Crisis

94AE0113A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
9 May 94 p 3

[Text] London—AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT asked a Yemeni writer and intellectual to record his view of events. He contributed the following bitterly satiric article reviewing the war of words that went on from the beginning of the crisis until its eruption in total war.

What does unity have to do with a sandwich?

You have a right to ask this question at this particular time: for the Yemen crisis is at its most critical juncture, and the battle is at its fiercest between proponents of unity and supporters of *tashtir* ("slicing in half"). The latter term, which has engaged the attention of Yemeni politics for a long time, comes from the world of the Classical Arabic *sandwich*. The term is one of the achievements of the Arabic Language Academy, which decided once upon a time to Arabize the foreign word *sandwich* and came up with the phrase, "top slice and

bottom slice with a filling in between" [*al-shatir wa al-mashtur wa al-kamakh baynahuma*]."

The phrase never caught on anywhere in the Arab world, except in Yemen, where the blundering of the *shatir* [a pun on three meanings: "divider," "shrewd person," and "withdrawer"] and the injustice to the *mashtur* ["that which has been divided"] have brought the country to the verge of *tashtir* ["cutting in half"]; and this at a time when unity and secession have come to mean the same thing to grieving citizens, who go to sleep with an old promise and wake up with a new lie.

Apart from the term *tashtir* ["cutting in half"], all the terms of the Yemen crisis invite deep philosophic reflection. Everyone is fighting to defend "legitimacy," which in the South means "party legitimacy," and in the North means "tribal legitimacy." The only term stranger than "legitimacy" is the phrase "foreign fingers" [i.e., foreign influences], which shifts meaning from day to day. Sometimes it refers to legitimate aid; at other times it refers to objectionable interventions. To these terminological marvels you may add the phrase "national dialogue." Everywhere else it means the need to use the tongue; here, however, the politicians love to dialogue with cannons, swords, tanks, and land, naval, and air weapons.

As for the tanks that fueled the latest battles, observers have been at a loss about how to categorize the Southern brigades located in the North and the Northern brigades located in the South. Were these forces positioned to defend unity, or were they hostages in the hands of two sides who deal in every coin except good faith?

Although military thinking says that tanks require a large crew, technicians, and supplies, here tanks were like trucks running aimlessly at the whim of their drivers, who drove them until the fuel ran out and then went looking for someone to tow them to the nearest station. If no one could be found, the driver would go off to his fate and leave the tank to its fate of becoming an ideal storage bin for fodder.

Something laughable in our country—how many things there are in it to make you laugh until you cry!—is that the military brigade is no better organized than the tank. Theoretically a brigade consists of about 10,000 persons—except here, where a brigade consists of a few hundred, sometimes a few dozen. They swear allegiance to the state, but in a pinch they follow instructions emanating from the province or tribe. The purpose of the Pledge and Accord Document, the most recent Yemeni term before the fighting, was to prevent militarization of the crisis. Now the document is fulfilling precisely the opposite role, accelerating the factors that would make for a military resolution. It is as if its signatories had promised and agreed not to implement a single letter of the document; which they indeed have done, in accordance with the principles of our way of promising and agreeing—especially when the agreements and promises are under Jordanian sponsorship.

Although the concept of "association of ideas" [*tada'iyat*] belongs to the novel, particularly the stream-of-consciousness novel represented by Virginia Woolf, the Yemen crisis, which has used up almost all the technical terms of literature, has also commandeered this term among others. The term *tada'iyat* is now being used in the sense of "developments." The term is being so used by all the parties, who fight with one hand and with the other hand draft communiques demanding a halt to military and media *tada'iyat*. What is so beautiful about Yemeni feuds is their polished style. Your foe charges you with lying, cheating, thievery, and treason, but he does not forget to add the title "brother" to your respected name, so that you become "Brother Cheater," or "Brother Traitor," or any other kind of brother plus epithet. None of these epithets has anything to do with the concept of brotherhood, which the fraternal enemies in Yemen have worn out in ways never imagined by the Brothers Karamazov or by Dostoyevsky, who could add 10 volumes to his immortal novel merely by paying a short visit to the land of fraternal enemies who never tire of talking about the concept of the rule of law—in a country desperately seeking law.

## INDIA

### Hamilton's Remarks Evaluated

94AS0285D Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 2 May 94 p 14

[Editorial: "American Logic"]

[Text] That nothing much has changed in Indo-American relations after Mr Strobe Talbott's and Ms Robin Raphel's recent efforts to soothe ruffled Indian feathers is evident from a recent unambiguous enunciation of the U.S. line towards this country by Mr Lee Hamilton, chairman of the foreign affairs committee of the U.S. House of Representatives. The senator is partly right in saying that the current "acrimony and bitterness" are the result of the Indian belief that a Democratic administration should be more friendly towards India than a Republican one. If, as he says, things have not quite worked out that way, it is presumably because Mr Clinton's ignorance about the complexities of politics in this part of the world has been compounded by the strange conviction in Washington apparently shared by both the Democrats and the Republicans that only the American viewpoint is valid. Otherwise, it is difficult to follow the logic of some of Mr Hamilton's observations. For instance, he wants India not to deploy the Prithvi missile as this will lead to greater tensions in South Asia, but it does not strike him that Pakistan's acquisition of more F-16s may do the same. Referring to India's contention that its security concerns relate to China as well, Mr Hamilton argues that Prithvi can be used only against Pakistan. But against whom will the F-16s, the M-11s and the Hatf missiles be used?

The real thrust of Mr Hamilton's remarks is evident, however, in his gratuitous advice to India that it should aspire for a close partnership with the United States. His concept of partnership, however, is akin to what Ayub Khan once found hard to accept, as is clear from the title of his autobiography, *Friends, Not Masters*. With disarming candour, the good senator wants India to accept the fact that the United States today is the only superpower, for if it does not, "an antagonistic America would pose a substantial obstacle to Indian aspirations." Clearly, the principle of agreeing to disagree which is central to all democracies is currently at a discount in Washington. Mr Hamilton has also spelt out how the United States will bring India into line (for a close partnership, of course): "The U.S. support for concessional financing from the World Bank and the IMF is crucial if India hopes to address the economic and social needs of the people." The threat is obvious and even tends to confirm the long-standing Leftist belief that the two organisations are mere extensions of the American foreign policy establishment. But perhaps the most extraordinary part of Mr Hamilton's speech was his explanation for the current calm in Punjab—the ruthlessness of the Indian security forces "in suppressing the insurgency." His belief, however, that the people of Punjab may still be dissatisfied underlines a touching

concern for popular feelings that was not much in evidence when the United States backed any number of brutal dictators ranging from Syngman Rhee, Ferdinand Marcos and Lon Nol to the Shah of Iran, Papa Doc and Baby Doc and General Pinochet.

### Minister Says Russians To Help Upgrade MiGs

94AS0285A Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English  
4 May 94 p 6

[Text] New Delhi, May 3—The much-awaited project to upgrade the MiG-21 BIS [multirole] is likely to be undertaken with Russian assistance, the Minister of State for Defence, Mr Mallikarjun, indicated in the Rajya Sabha today. The negotiations with the Russians were over and a letter of intent was being issued, he said.

The Minister offered scanty details of the project in which both the Israelis and the United States expressed an interest. Mr Mallikarjun said that with modern avionics and other equipment, the re-vamped MiG-21 would once again assume its role as a frontline combat aircraft.

Mr Mallikarjun strongly defended the short-listing of the British Aerospace *Hawk* and the French *Alphajet* would meet the Indian Air Force's requirement of an Advanced Jet Trainer.

The Minister, however, did not mention the time-frame within which the final decision would be taken. He said the negotiating committee would seek to obtain the AJTs [Advanced Jet Trainer] at the most favourable price.

He further said that the negotiations were being conducted on the basis of bids submitted in March 1992. He declined to comment on the allegation of a Rs 1,000-crore [rupees] bribe that had been made by Mr G.G. Swell (M.P.). He said he "totally disagrees with the respectable, honourable M.P."

Prior to the short-listing of the *Hawk* and *Alphajet*, Mr Mallikarjun said, the IAF [Indian Air Force] had evaluated all other options available, in 1985. The evaluation had included studies on Spanish, German, Italian, U.S., and Czech aircraft. None of them met the prescribed Air Staff Requirement.

The Russian MiG-80, which was scheduled to be unveiled this year, was still on the drawing board. Nobody could say how long it would take for commercial production to commence, nor were its capabilities established. In contrast the *Hawk* and *Alphajet* were "proven" and used in the training role by several forces.

Discussing modernization plans for the Army, he said that the T-72 tank, which had now been totally indigenous, would be upgraded. While most of it would involve the use of sophisticated Indian equipment, some items might have to be imported.

The Minister spoke of frigates, destroyers, and off-shore patrol vessels being produced in domestic shipyards for



the Navy, and said the time had come to plan construction programmes for the future since shipbuilding takes time.

However, the proposals for an indigenous replacement of the defunct INS [Indian Navy Ship] Vikrant and the continuation of the HDW [Howaldtswerke Deutsche Werft] sub-marine project, at Mazagon Docks, were not mentioned.

Mr Mallikarjun said that in future the third and fourth line servicing of the carrier-based Sea Harrier fighters would be done in the country, instead of sending them abroad for major servicing.

Development of infrastructures and Operation Seabird to set up a base at Karwar and the Naval Academy, at Ezhimala in Kerala, was continuing.

While several members had described the budgetary outlay of Rs 23,000 crores as inadequate, and he conceded that it was not much more than the revised estimates of Defence expenditure for 1993-94, Mr Mallikarjun drew attention to the resource constraint and said: "We have to meet the needs with whatever is available."

The Minister agreed that the Research and Development Organisation had a key role to play but rejected the view that the Rs 80-crore reduction in its budgetary provision, for capital expenditure, had meant an overall slash in its funding. That amount had been re-appropriated under the revenue expenditure head.

Noting that members had compared India's Defence expenditure of 2.5 percent of GDP with the 7 percent of Pakistan, the Minister declared that the percentage of GDP was not a proper index, nor was there any point in trying to match anybody else. India's allocations were "need-based," he said.

#### **Relationship With Tibet Analyzed, Reviewed**

94AS0280A *Bombay NAVBHARAT TIMES in Hindi*  
27 Apr 94 p 4

[Article by Yamuna Dutt Vaishnav Ashok: India and Tibet's Long Journey Together]

[Text] Our Constitution expects each citizen to be acquainted with the name of Tibet, the gold reserves of its Kailash Mansarovar area, and its language, science, tradition and history in connection with its being an ancient center of world culture. A parliamentarian should certainly have known, much more than an ordinary citizen, that the sage Purushottam Das Tandon gave a statement in the Lok Sabha nearly 28 years ago. This statement was given in the context of Nehru's request to obtain approval of an announcement to grant to Zhou Enlai the highways built by the government of British India, the transportation and communication system from Leh to Lhasa, and the right of India to freely trade in Tibet. The reply given by the Indian government

in Parliament during the three-day international Parliamentary conference on Tibet now held in Delhi, was the complete opposite of the statement of Mr. Tandon. (See Lok Sabha narrative - May, 1956.)

The description in the Indian Constitution of the fundamental duties of the country's citizens is given in paragraph 51-k of chapter 4 as follows:

"It is the fundamental duty of every citizen of India to develop in the populace the scientific viewpoint, humanism and a feeling of purifying investigation." At the root of this duty we find that branch of the mountain routes described by Panini which go from Leh to Lhasa, on which India's Shak traders traveled through mountain passes to enter the present Kumaon. These passes are approximately 18,000 feet above sea level. It was extremely terrifying to cross these passes by sliding down the ice of contiguous mountain peaks. Shak traders passing through the "snaky roads", their sheep and cows loaded with goods from Central Asia, tied spears and sticks cross-wise across their bodies to avoid being buried in the invisible cracks of ice-boulders. Therefore these routes were also called "spear paths".

History tells us that in 640 AD, in this country called Kirat Mandal, ruled the Khus (Shak) King Chan Gampo (Sog Chang Gampo). He married the daughter of India's Khus King Anshu Verma and for her established Shivalaya near Kailash Mansarovar. He also married China's princess and established Potala Vihar in the east in Rasa (now Lhasa). A descendant of this king in 747 AD invited Acharya Padmasambhava from Nalanda University. At his command, he built Buddhist monasteries in his country in the Magadh architectural style. During the next 400 years Buddhist monasteries and abbeys were built in all of Central Asia.

When Marco Polo from Venice reached the court of Mongolia's ruler, the ruler Kubbla Khan could not decide which religion he should follow. He requested the Polo brothers to bring with them preachers of the Christian religion in their second visit to Mongolia. He also asked them to bring some holy oil from the temple in Jerusalem. The two Christian missionaries with whom Polo had started out, did not have the courage to travel beyond Syria, and returned home. Thus Kubbla Khan took initiation into the Buddhist religion, and endeavored to make the Kailash Mansarovar area a center of Buddhist religion, similar to the center that then Rome was of the Christian religion. It was made compulsory for the religious king of the Buddhist country (Ta Bodh) to remain a bachelor and a teetotaler. The word Ta Bodh of the Italavi language was called Tibate by Jesuit priests and became Tibbat (Tibet) in English.

The age-old commerce of the northern routes, spread over all three continents of the ancient world, was at its peak during the Mughal era. The Mughals had great allegiance and devotion towards Central Asia, especially Samarkand. At the time of Akbar, Samarkand was the learning center of the Arab world. Many philosophers

and teachers in his court were from Samarkand. Babar was born in Turkemanistan and was enthroned in Samarkand at the age of twelve. Babar's ancestor Taimurlung had made the capitals and markets located on the ancient Central Asian trade routes the target of his barbarism. In 1393 A.D. he had looted the grand city of the Caliphs, modern Iraq's capital Baghdad, and had captured Moscow in the north. Only three years later he had destroyed Delhi. Then in 1401 A.D., he had destroyed western Asia's largest trade center Damascus, and had defeated Egypt's armies. Having killed thousands there, he had reached Ankara in 1403 AD. At that time the ancient northern trade route had become Taimurlung's military route.

At the time of Kumaon's king Udyot Chand (1678-1699 AD), the border of the Kumaon kingdom reached the western shore of the Karnali river. In the north it bordered Taklakot and in the south reached the Karnali river flowing between Bahraich and Kheeri districts. Indians were allowed to freely visit Kailash Mansarovar. Border traders roamed Central Asia's markets for six months without interference, and arranged for their own safety on trade routes.

The British government, patient for 45 years, felt the imminent loss of Tibet. Finally the British government sent a group of representatives from the Indian border towards Tibet, but they were stopped 24 kilometers inside Tibet. Then Lord Curzon, under the leadership of Sir Francis Young Husbandsman, sent armed forces to attack Lhasa. In March 1904 the British army murdered 700 unarmed Tibetans. In August of the same year, Sir Young reached Lhasa. He did not find any representatives from Russia there. A fine of 7.5 million rupees was imposed on Tibet by the British government. A treaty was signed with the condition that its Chumbi valley area would be under British control for 74 years for the collection of this fine, so that 100,000 rupees could be collected every year.

The British home department reached an agreement with Russia and also sent a proposal to China in 1907 that if China would pay the fine imposed on Lhasa, the British would give up their right to Chumbi valley. Thus China got an invaluable opportunity to gain control over all of Tibet for 7.2 million rupees. According to the agreement of 1906, the British government obtained full freedom to trade with Tibet. There are more than a dozen mountain passes from Almora and Garhwal districts running towards Tibet. Free trade commenced through all of these. Indian British soldiers were deployed for the protection of these routes. Military outposts were built from place to place. Mail collectors and mule operators who carried mail to India, began to travel to and from Almora. This arrangement would continue for nearly six months every year. After that soldiers were appointed at every outpost in Tibet to protect the government treasury. British trade agents would stay in Gabyang for a few days, then come to Calcutta, and after 1911 to Delhi. In the protection of trade routes, terrible accidents would sometimes occur

due to sudden floods. In 1947, in the flood of Myantsay, hundreds of Indian soldiers were killed along with Captain Nagar and Major Nagpal. After the flood subsided Subedar Budh Singh dug up from the river sand 100,000 rupees that had been swept away when the government treasury building was destroyed. Almost 150 bodies were found in the dry river bed when the flood waters receded. After the cash and other valuable military goods were handed over to the Indian government, Subedar Budh Singh and the entire mountain populace were proud of the responsibility for its supervision. When Nehru handed over the entire administrative estate to Zhou Enlai, the northern mountain dwellers were deeply hurt.

### Paper Reports on Envoys' Visit to Kashmir

#### Third Groups' Report

94AS0287A Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
3 May 94 p 13

[Article by K.K. Katyal: "Kashmiris Fed Up With Militancy, Feel Envoys"]

[Text] New Delhi, May 2.

The third group of Ambassadors, which visited Jammu and Kashmir last week, returned with the dominant impression that the people there were fed up with the prolonged dislocation of their daily lives and craved for an early return of normality.

Though the Huriyat leaders in Srinagar did not see the Ambassadors—ten of them, mostly from the Muslim and Latin American countries—they were able to get a complete picture of the situation there. They were briefed by the State Governor, Gen. (Retd.) K.V. Krishna Rao, and various others like the former Chief Minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, the representative of human rights organisation and spokesmen of the migrants. During their stay in Jammu, they saw two Huriyat leaders, Mr. Abdul Ghani Lone and Syed Ahmed Shah Gilani, in jail.

Contrary to the account given by official sources here, the group's assessment was a mixed affair, but New Delhi has no reason to be unhappy about it. The Ambassadors found the Kashmir problem highly complex which needed to be resolved politically, not through force. The situation did not admit of any "unsettling" solution, according to them. They did not find any indication of the political process which, as claimed by the Government, had been initiated, of late. At the same time, they found evidence of external backing to militancy (the source of this support, obviously, is the Pakistan-occupied areas of Kashmir, but the group preferred not to identify it).

Ordinary citizens of the State, both in the valley and in Jammu, according to the group's assessment, would like the violence to end and the situation brought back to normal. They complained of having been squeezed by

the two-sided violence, by the militants, on the one hand, and the security forces, on the other—and would like the situation to settle soon.

The visiting Envoys were impressed by the representatives of the migrants, belonging to both the communities, who narrated their tales of woe. At another level, Mr. Lone and Mr. Gilani took an extreme line, of the type followed by the militants. Also, they complained of the treatment meted out to them in the jail, especially objecting that they had been clubbed with ordinary convicts.

#### No Cause for Complaint

Confirming the accounts earlier emanating from Srinagar, the Ambassadors found no cause for complaint about the arrangements for their trip. They did not blame the authorities for the episode at Srinagar where the leaders of Huriyat insisted on the Ambassadors coming to its office in the downtown area, rejecting the suggestions for a meeting either at the tourist complex or at the residence of the Mir Wahiz, one of the leading lights of the organisation, near Nagin Lake.

The two groups of the Delhi-based Ambassadors who had gone to the State earlier, had found the Huriyat leaders speaking with several voices. This umbrella organisation of 33 groups, big and small, conveyed differing views on the modalities for resolving the present deadlock and putting an end to violence—and though extreme sentiments were articulated by most of them, some others were either non-committal or chose to prevaricate, and avoided taking extreme postures.

To claim, as official sources did today, that the impressions of the Envoys represented a change in the attitude of their Governments towards India is a case of inverted logic. As a matter of fact, the observations of the visiting Ambassadors would help their Governments to see the situation in a proper perspective instead of being influenced by Pakistan's propaganda.

#### Iranian Ambassador's Statement

94AS0287B Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
5 May 94 p 13

[Article by F.J. Khergamvala]

[Text] Manama (Bahrain), May 4.

Iran's Ambassador in India has issued a statement which is an indictment of New Delhi for its conduct of the mission of diplomats in New Delhi to Jammu and Kashmir [J & K]. It accuses India of "misleading the diplomatic group" and not "fulfilling the terms under which these envoys were taken to J & K."

Radio Teheran broadcast the text of a statement issued by the Iranian News Agency on Monday, May 2. The Ambassador, Mr. Raza Sheikhattar seems to have given his statement immediately after the return to New Delhi of the 11 diplomats who had visited J & K. After initial

reluctance he had joined this mission. As would be seen from the text, it is extremely unusual for a diplomat stationed in another country to use such strong words publicly against the Government to which he is accredited. In India, at the very least the move should come as a considerable embarrassment to policy planners and other observers who have maintained the pretence, since the Human Rights meeting in Geneva, that Teheran's neutrality tilts towards India and that bilateral ties are all hunky-dory.

"The itinerary of the eight Muslim and three Latin American countries diplomats never materialised," said the envoy. "Since I was promised that I could meet anyone I asked and go anywhere I desired and even hire taxis if I wanted to and in consideration of the Indian Government's policies of clarifying the situation in J & K, I accepted the offer to go there. The Government of India had also promised to arrange the meeting between the delegation (of envoys) and leaders of the Hurriyat Conference. This was written in our itinerary, unfortunately it did not happen. The Government of India under the pretext of security problems and despite the fact that the Hurriyat Conference had guaranteed our security, refused to agree with the meeting place proposed by the Hurriyat Conference," the statement added.

#### No Official Reaction

In India, actions of powers above the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) and some in the MEA have led Iran to believe that Teheran being India's only rescue act in the Islamic world, New Delhi must do its bidding. It is perhaps not too well known that the Indian Ambassador in Teheran is being prematurely transferred, at the behest of Teheran, for allegedly ruffling some feathers. However, nothing that he is known to have said or done that compares with the public censure issued by the Iranian Ambassador in New Delhi. In terms of content, it is not known if others in the diplomatic group share his views but it is most unlikely they would issue public reports. Extraordinarily, in contrast to what may have transpired if the Pakistani Ambassador had said this, the Indian spokesman has not reacted at all to the Iranian envoy's statement. Objectively, it seems difficult to believe that the envoy would continue to enjoy confidence in the MEA, especially when one reads what he said further.

His statement added: "The diplomats wanted to meet with ordinary people but the Government officials decided that this was not possible in circumstances of a strike called by the Hurriyat Conference. The envoys' request to travel to Sopore and Bijbehara (the scene of last October's massacre) was rejected on security grounds. Although the provincial authorities had earlier agreed to the delegation meeting with representatives of the Srinagar people who had sustained damages, this was later cancelled and the reason given for it was that the Srinagar representatives were not too keen on holding the scheduled meeting. We could not pay a visit to the

Hazratbal shrine either. When complaints were made to provincial authorities about the fact that facilities similar to the ones provided to the visiting delegations in the past were not being offered at this time, the envoys were told that people had protested after such visits and the Government was trying to avoid further unrest. Visiting diplomats were instead taken to the Dal Lake area and were provided binoculars to be able to see the shrine from a distance."

#### Visit Incomplete

In conclusion, the statement attributed to Mr. Sheikhattar says "the Srinagar visit has been incomplete and the aim of clarifying the situation in Kashmir is yet to be achieved. In Delhi we were told that the situation in Kashmir had improved and we had hoped to visit large areas of the State. The situation is totally upside down. We hope the Government would in future provide suitable facilities for diplomats and fulfil its promises about clarification of the situation in the region."

Some may now question the whole idea of arranging diplomatic transparency in J & K, but Indian diplomats, reacting to the Iranian view say it has been a good move and there is no need to throw out the baby with the bathwater. As for the envoy's intentions, one purpose would be to enhance its standing in Islamabad and with the Hurriyat Conference, the ascendant group in J & K or with one of its factions. No doubt, such remarks would never have been possible had it not been for India itself making Iran feel it can play the key umpire's role. In any event the statement issued—and neither reported in India nor responded to officially—is inconsistent with the official level pretence about the state of relations.

#### Plans for National Security Council Announced

94AS0286B Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
4 May 94 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, May 3.

The Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao today announced his Government's intention to set up a National Security Council [NSC] which would take into account all matters that impinge on national security.

"It will not just have defence in its ambit but have a much wider scope than that," he said while replying to a discussion on the working of the Defence Ministry in the Rajya Sabha.

The Prime Minister said he had got the matter examined and "we have come to the conclusion that it should be set up." "In its new variegated form it will take into account all matters impinging on national security."

Mr. I.K. Gujral, JD [Janata Dal], intervened to ask if the NSC was any different from what had been proposed in 1990. He said he did not find any difference in what the Prime Minister had outlined and what had been proposed in 1990.

The Prime Minister said in 1990 it was narrow in scope and included only finance, home, defense. However if the member felt there was no difference then he could have the copyright, he said in a lighter vein.

The Prime Minister said that the security environment had changed very much since 1990 which necessitated a wider scope for the NSC.

Referring to the changed scenario after the end of the cold war, Mr. Rao said if business was as usual even after the end of the cold war, then it had no meaning.

"We have to be pragmatic about the changes ushered in by the end of the cold war and it required greater vigilance on the part of all countries particularly India and the role it had play, he said. [sentence as published]

"We cannot abandon this role," he said adding we have to work for peace and resolution of problems is going to be much easier than before since the end of the cold war.

The Leader of the Opposition in Rajya Sabha, Mr. Sikander Bakht, said the Prime Minister's statement still did not dispel their misgivings at all. He said the Agrii missile programme had been discontinued on several occasions and he suspected this was due to us pressure. [sentence as published]—PTI

#### More Concessions to Small-Scale Sector Announced

94AS0286C Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
5 May 94 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, May 4.

Yielding to pressure from Opposition as well as ruling party members in Parliament, the Union Finance Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, has announced some more concessions for the small-scale sector. He, however, stuck to his stand on not to reintroduce general excise exemption for this sector. The reliefs were announced by the Minister while piloting the Finance Bill 1994 in the Lok Sabha today. The Bill is expected to be passed on Friday.

Lower excise on vehicles catering to the rural population, a lower excise on split air conditioners for tourist buses, a reduction in customs duty on medical equipment and some changes in presumptive tax on transport operators are among the reliefs extended by the Minister for the auto.mobile sector. Dr. Singh has also changed the dates for furnishing returns in the case of companies and non-corporate assesseees. Though the Minister did not give the quantum of revenue, loss on account of the concessions, sources indicated that the loss would be marginal and below Rs. 50 crores.

He also announced the constitution of a group to collect district-wise data from States in order to arrive at a uniform national set of criteria for industrial backwardness and to identify districts which are extremely backward. On the basis of the new criteria, the question of



providing tax holiday for new industrial units in backward districts would be considered.

#### Product-specific Exemptions

Recounting the measures taken by him to remove the difficulties faced by the small sector, the Minister told the House that removal of the product-specific exemptions and extension of the general small scale industries (SSIs) scheme for excise concession would give the small sector a real competitive edge vis-a-vis the larger units. This was because under a general excise exemption, both the large and small units were treated at par whereas under excise, the small units could get the benefit of concessional rates.

Having said that, Dr. Singh went on to announce complete exemption from excise in the case of soap made without the aid of power. Similarly, umbrellas have been exempted from excise duty as well as corrugated boxes and cartons since these are mostly made in the unorganised sector.

For the automobile sector, the Minister has said that excise duty on vehicles with gross vehicle weight of less than 2,700 kg. which was proposed to be levied at the rate of 40 per cent, will now attract 25 per cent duty. This has been done because vehicles satisfying this criterion had been designed to cater to the needs of rural transport and should not attract 40 per cent duty which is the rate for cars as well.

Furthermore, he said that in view of the administrative difficulties faced by utensil manufacturers, he was exempting the circles used captively in the manufacture of such utensils. He also proposed the extension of proforma credit of yarn duty to manufacturers of narrow woven fabrics as well as proforma credit of woollen yarn duty to woollen fabrics. On knitted and crocheted fabrics, he proposed a uniform duty of 10 per cent against the rates of 5, 10 or 20 per cent depending on value.

On split air conditioners, Dr. Singh had proposed in his Budget a shift from specific to ad valorem rates. He said he had received representations that imposition of 60 per cent ad valorem duty on split air conditioners for buses had resulted in a sharp increase in the incidence of duty and as this would go against the interests of the tourism industry, the ad valorem duty was being reduced to 30 per cent.

Similarly, on representations from members of Parliament, the Finance Minister has enlarged the list of imported life-saving medical equipment exempt from payment of customs duty. The list of goods attracting 15 per cent customs duty was also being enlarged. Spare parts for such medical equipment which attract 15 per cent plus nil countervailing duty (CV) and 40 per cent with CV duty would now generally attract a uniform rate of 15 per cent plus CV duty. (The CV will be equivalent to excise duty on domestic producers). Similarly, excise duty on medical furniture which were to attract 20 per cent duty will now attract 5 per cent only. Dr. Singh also

promised to look into representations seeking enlargement of the list of life-saving drugs which do not attract any duty.

In the case of direct taxes, the Minister has reduced the estimated income in case of truck operators from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 1,800 per truck per month for light and medium commercial vehicles and from Rs. 2,500 to Rs. 2,000 per truck per month in the case of heavy trucks.

In response to another demand, the Minister has now indicated that the due date for filing returns for companies would be November 30 instead of the earlier proposed date of October 31. Likewise, for non-corporate assesseees who are required to get their accounts audited or are required to furnish an accountant's report in support of claims for certain deductions, the due date will continue to be October 31 and will not be changed to August 31. This has been done in view of the complaints that changes in dates would result in bunching and heavy pressure of work on the audit profession. Besides, the amendments would have created difficulties in the case of non-corporate assesseees who claim deduction under Section 80 HHC and 80 HHD, since they are allowed to bring in the export proceeds in foreign exchange by September 30 and thereafter furnish evidence of such remittance.

#### Papers Report on State Election Plans

##### Tamil Nadu Announcement

94AS0289A Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
5 May 94 p 1

[Text] Madras, May 4.

Elections to town panchayats, municipalities and municipal corporations would be held before November this year and elected councils to these bodies would be formed by that month, the Local Administration Minister, Mr. T.M. Selvaganapathy, announced in the Assembly today.

The Minister was replying to the discussions on Bills seeking to bring the Municipalities Act in conformity with the Central Government's Nagarpalika Act.

He expressed his inability to hold the elections in the next three months, as the Government had to take follow-up action on several heads after the passage of the legislation.

He said the Government had to prepare the electoral rolls, identify the seats and posts for reservation for SC/ST [expansion not given] and women and frame the rules under these statutes. Hence it required the six months time-limit provided for in the Act for the holding of the elections.

##### Mayoral Poll

With the upgradation of the municipalities of Tiruchirappalli and Salem into municipal corporations,

direct elections would be held for six posts of Mayors. Of these six posts, two would be reserved for women and one for SC/ST and the reservation would be by rotation.

Chairpersons of municipalities would be elected directly and one-third of the posts would be reserved for women. For SC/ST, the reservation would be on the basis of their population for which the 1991 census would be the base. These reserved posts too would go by rotation.

Municipalities with more than three lakhs population would have independent ward committees, for which suitable provisions had been made in the new Act, he said.

Mr. Selvaganapathy detailed the salient provisions of the Bill, and said the new statute would enable these local bodies to associate themselves in the planning process.

#### Turns Down Demand

He turned down a demand that MLAs [Member of Legislative Assembly] and MPs [Member of Parliament] participating in these elected councils should have no voting right. The 74th amendment to the Constitution made it mandatory. Likewise election to the post of Mayor too had to be directly by the people under the Central Act, he said.

In the discussions, Mr. Gnanasekaran (Cong.-I) welcomed the mandatory election to these local bodies once in five years. He wanted the Government to hold elections within three months after the passage of the bill.

Mr. M. Sundardoss (Cong.-I) opposed direct election to the post of Mayor of municipal corporations. The reservation for women and SC/ST should not be by nominations, but by enabling these segments to win the elections through proper identification of the wards for them.

Others who participated included Mr. Deivanayagam (Cong.-I), Mr. O.S. Amarnath (AIADMK [All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam]) and Mr. V. Thambusamy (CPI-M [Communist Party of India-Marxist]).

After the Minister's reply, the Bills were passed.

The House also adopted after a brief discussion the Bill which amended the Public Property (Prevention of Damage and Loss) Act.

The new Bill provides for punishment of the persons who actually caused damage or loss to the private property and to make the political parties or communal or ethnic groups which organised procession, assembly, meeting, agitation, demonstration or other activities leading to violence also liable to pay compensation.

#### Authorised Officer

Replying to the discussion on the Bill, the Leader of the House, Mr. V.R. Nedunchezian, said that the Commissioner for Revenue Administration would be the authorised officer to whom the petitions for compensation should be made.

He also said that this legislation would itself be a deterrent to those indulging in violence. In the absence of this measure the Government would be handicapped against taking action against the culprits.

#### Bihar Elections

94AS0289B Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English  
12 May 94 p 5

[Text] Patna, May 11—The Bihar Chief Minister, Mr. Laloo Prasad Yadav, today said that the Assembly elections in the State would be held in January next year. The term of the present Assembly expires in March 1995.

Mr. Yadav claimed that the ruling Janata Dal and its allies would get two-third of the seats.

He expressed hope that by then the voter's identity cards, as directed by the Election Commission, would be ready. He said the State was prepared to spend 50 per cent of Rs 100 crores required for the purpose.

Mr. Yadav told reporters that the Vaishali Lok Sabha by-election was a dress rehearsal before the Assembly elections. He denied that there was any criticism in the party over the selection of the Janata Dal candidate for the by-election. He said, "We needed Mrs. Kishori Sinha. We did not want to take any risk about it".

He said that he wanted to dispel the charges against the Dal that the party was biased against the upper castes. Mrs. Sinha had filed her nomination as a Janata Dal candidate after resigning from the Congress(I).

Mr. Yadav said that the Congress(I) should not complain about the defection of Mrs. Sinha since the Central Government had survived because of defections. He quipped that Mr. Ram Lakhan Singh was most competent to speak on the subject.

The Chief Minister expressed his unhappiness, over the leakage of letters written by two Janata Dal M.P.s—Mr. Nitish Kumar and Mr. Brishen Patel—which reached the Press before he received them.

However, he did not want to discuss the letters. He also refused to answer questions pertaining to Mr. Patel's criticism regarding his style of functioning. He described the M.P.s as his younger brothers.

But he said that the people who had been helped by him earlier were now speaking against him. He said that the M.P.s were not fit to pass such comments.

### Dalai Lama Tells Plans To Move Headquarters

94AS0286E Bombay THE SUNDAY TIMES OF INDIA in English 8 May 94 pp 1, 28

[Article by Sabina Sehgal Saikia: "Dalai To Make Bangalore HQ"]

[Text] Dharamsala, May 7.

The Nobel peace prize winner, the Dalai Lama, has decided to shift his headquarters from the hill town of Dharamsala. In all probability, the spiritual and temporal head of the Tibetans will move his base to the outskirts of Bangalore. This decision follows a spate of violence, arson and looting which the Tibetan community in Dharamsala has been subjected to in the last fortnight.

The Dalai Lama made his decision known when the former BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] chief minister, Mr. Shanta Kumar, visited him at his residence in the presence of this correspondent. Mr. Shanta Kumar apologised for the violence which followed the death of a Gaddi youth at the hands of a Tibetan. The movement against the Tibetans has, much to the embarrassment of the BJP, been spear-headed by the party's local MLA [member of Legislative Assembly], Mr. Krishen Kapoor.

Later, in an exclusive interview, the Dalai Lama expressed his deep hurt at the manner in which the Tibetans had been stone-walled by sections of the local community. "I am very, very sad that an individual incident has, unfortunately, been allowed to be manipulated by local politicians and this makes it very serious," he said. "Perhaps in a small town, the presence of a few thousand Tibetans is conspicuous. My presence here and that of the central administration, too, makes the Tibetans here stand out. To avoid a conflict becoming a major problem in the future, it is best that I move out of Dharamsala," he said.

Expressing his deep gratitude to the Indian government for providing refuge to almost 100,000 Tibetans (of which 6,000 live in Dharamsala), the Dalai Lama, however, clarified that the choice of Dharamsala as his base was not one taken by him out of choice. "It was at the insistence of the Government of India in 1960, when I was informed that Mussourie was only a temporary arrangement, that I shifted to Dharamsala with reluctance. I have always been in favour of being closer to Delhi," he said.

He added that on every subsequent occasion when he had attempted to move out of Dharamsala—to Simla in the '60s and later in 1988 when his community felt that earthquake-prone Dharamsala was unsafe for him—the local community had appealed to him not to shift his residence. "But this time I have been faced with a human earthquake—I think the time has come for me to move and, if possible, I will move to Bangalore," he informed.

The decision of the Dalai Lama has taken the local Tibetan community, and his government-in-exile, by shock. For many, this has been their only home since

their flight from Tibet almost 35 years ago. But, as the elderly Ms. Kunga whose shop was looted and attacked by an unruly mob, points out, "I have never felt more intimidated—not even by the Chinese."

The situation in the hill-resort has remained tense despite section 144 being revoked on April 27. While there has been no fresh spate of violence against the Tibetans, every new day witnesses a fresh turn to the current impasse. Just yesterday, Dharamsala awoke to pamphlets strewn all over the Tibetan-dominated McLeod Gunj area which screamed in Hindi, "This is a special warning to all Tibetans. If you people do not leave Dharamsala by July 25, we will bomb you out..." This is in addition to a series of memorandums and resolutions which the local politicians have been regularly signing asking for the immediate expulsion of Tibetans from Dharamsala.

Despite this, the local administration refuses to accept that there is any cause for concern. The deputy commissioner, Ms. Manisha Sridhar, when contacted, said, "I do not think that this is a big issue—it can easily be sorted out. I think that the press has unnecessarily blown it up." While admitting the incidents of arson, violence and looting, Ms. Sridhar, however, felt that it would be unwise for her to make any immediate arrests against those who led the mobs as it might aggravate the tension. She informed that 14 reserves of police force had been placed on duty as a precautionary measure.

The local politicians—both Mr. Kapoor of the BJP and Ms. Chandresh Kumari of the Congress—remain vituperative in their attack against the Tibetans, accusing them of everything from drug and arms smuggling to being condescending and insensitive to the local population.

### Supreme Court Moves Against VHP Leader

94AS0286D Madras THE HINDU in English  
7 May 94 p 13

[Text] New Delhi, May 6.

A Constitution Bench of the Supreme Court today initiated *suo motu* "contempt of court" proceedings against Acharya Giriraj Kishore, joint general secretary of the banned Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), Mr. C.K. Mahajan, editor, printer and publisher of *Kabardar India* (Hindi weekly) and Mr. Ravi Thakur, reporter of the weekly for publication of certain statements reportedly made by Acharya Giriraj Kishore (on the Apex Court) in the edition of the Hindi weekly dated April 11 to 17.

The Bench, which made these orders after perusal of the affidavits concerned, however, said that there was no justification for proceeding against Mr. Vishnu Hari Dalma, leader of the banned VHP.

The Chief Justice, Mr. M.N. Venkatachaliah, Mr. Justice A.M. Ahmadi, Mr. Justice J.S. Verma, Mr. Justice G.N. Ray and Mr. Justice S.P. Bharucha were on the Bench.

The Bench in today's orders said that appropriate notices shall be served on all the "accused" by the court registry fixing the next date of hearing for their personal appearance before the court to hear "charges" against them.

The Bench, advertizing to publication of certain statement attributed to Acharya Giriraj Kishore in *Indian Express* (Delhi edition dated April 10), said that, as regards printer and publisher, editor and reporter of the daily (respondents 4, 5 and 6), it (the court) proposed to examine the question—whether in the matter of a proper balance of fundamental right (of free speech and expression including "freedom of press") under Article 19 (1) (a) of the Constitution on the one hand and the need to protect the authority and dignity of the court on the other—it (the Bench) should initiate similar proceedings against these three respondents particularly in the light of the fact that the respondents had carried out the publication pertaining to "press interview" along with a "caveat" commenting on the "impropriety" of such statements followed by an editorial condemning such conduct. This would be examined separately.

The Bench appointed, Mr. Dipankar P. Gupta, Solicitor-General as a prosecutor.

Earlier, Mr. F.S. Nariman, senior counsel appearing for *Indian Express*, contended that "An Editor/Publisher does not scandalise the Court when he reports accurately and in good faith what public figures say in public." He also submitted that it was important that the "right of citizens to know" what public figures said in public should "not be inhibited by the law of contempt" so long as "what is reported is accurate and in good faith".

To balance the interest of a "free Press" and a "fair administration of justice", it was necessary to lay down as a principle flowing from Article 19 (1) (a) read with the provisions of the Contempt of Courts Act, 1971 that a publisher, printer and editor "do not themselves render liable for the criminal contempt of "scandalising" the Court where "what they do is merely report the public statements of a public figure, and where such a report is published with a caveat commenting upon the impropriety of such statements."

## DMK Dissidents Form New Party, Details Given

### General Council Meets

94AS0288A Madras THE HINDU in English  
7 May 94 p 4

[All quotation marks as published]

[Text] Madras, May 6.

The break away DMK [Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (Dravidian Progressive Foundation)] led by Mr. V. Gopalsami today adopted the name 'Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam'.

For its flag too, the party has retained the twin colours of black and red but in a way different from that of the DMK. The flag will have three stripes, red at the top and the bottom and black in the middle.

The party General Council which met here today endorsed the new name and flag and within minutes of its disclosure by the party's general secretary, Mr. Gopalsami, the flag sprung up in multitudes in and around the venue. The party Executive which practically sat through the whole of last night besides choosing the name and flag deliberated on many other current issues.

Ever since Mr. Gopalsami and his group broke away from the DMK in October last, they had been claiming that theirs was the real DMK and they would not part with the DMK's flag.

They had to change their stand following the decision of the Election Commission which recently gave its seal of approval to the group led by Mr. M. Karunanidhi and Mr. K. Anbazhagan as the DMK with the authority to use the 'Rising Sun' symbol.

Mr. Gopalsami who announced the party's decisions at a news conference and displayed the new flag said his party had not yet decided on its election symbol. As the candidates of his party in the May 26 bye-elections were 'Independents' in the reckoning of the Election Commission, they had to remain content for the present with one of the free symbols allotted to them by the Commission, he said.

The word 'Marumalarchi' (Renaissance) had been appended to the name DMK, Mr. Gopalsami explained, because his party would like to take up in earnest the work left behind by the late C.N. Annadurai, the founder of DMK and who ceaselessly crusaded to bring about a renaissance in the social, cultural and literary fields of Tamil Nadu. In the political arena too, his party would like to usher in a renaissance by stamping out corruption and putting an end to the practice of grooming family heirs for political leadership, he said.

Mr. Gopalsami said that his group's earlier claim on the name and flag of the DMK party was a sequel to the strong sentiments of those who walked out of the DMK with him and their intention had never been to introduce 'confrontationist politics' in the State. In fact they were the victims of violence at several places. With the Election Commission's pronouncement, a new name and a new flag had been necessitated but 'we are confident that people will decide who represents the real DMK', he said and added 'we will prove in course of time that we are the real DMK'.

The General Council of the party decided that the office-bearers elected at its earlier meeting held at Tiruchi in December last would be retained ones for the Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (MDMK) also and the rules and regulations adopted at that meeting would govern it.

'Our first task in politics is to fight and throw away the corrupt AIADMK [All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam] Government', said Mr. Gopalsami responding to questions.



Asked whether he would not be further splitting the anti-AIADMK votes by his stand, Mr. Gopalsami said, that practically all sections of the people had been disillusioned with the performance of the AIADMK Government. The people wanted a change of Government and his party firmly believed that it could provide the alternative.

At the national level, he said, his party would team up with anti-Congress(I) forces for bringing about a powerful alternative to the Congress(I). He, however, excluded the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] from the list as it was communal. The Left parties and the Janata Dal could emerge as a strong force against the Congress(I), he felt.

He had reservations about Bahujan Samai Party led by Mr. Kanshi Ram, Mr. Gopalsami said. Their views on Gandhiji were not acceptable to his party.

On his attitude towards the Sri Lankan militants, he said he was not supporting any of these groups. His aim was that there should not be any violence in Tamil Nadu and if there were any violent acts, the law should take its course.

Answering a question on the revival of the sentence on the News Editor of *Dinakaran* newspaper by the Assembly, he said there was no magnanimity on the part of the State Government. His party would launch an agitation whenever press freedom was threatened, he said.

The General Council passed a number of resolutions, including one urging the State Government to revoke the sentence on the News Editor of *Dinakaran*, expedite police investigation and apprehend the culprits involved in the murder of Elumalai, party activist, and an appeal to the electorate of Mylapore and Perundurai to support the party's candidates in the bye-election.

### Gopalsami Speech Reported

94AS0288B Madras THE HINDU in English  
8 May 94 p 3

[All quotation marks as published]

[Text] Madras, May 7.

'Believe us; we will not betray your trust'—with this slogan Mr. V. Gopalsami launched his election campaign at Mylapore on Friday night in support of his party, the Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (MDMK) candidate, Mr. (Kalaipuli) S. Dhanu.

Only 12 hours earlier, the name and the design of his party flag were finalised and announced marking his group's complete break with the parent organisation, the DMK which once held him out as its 'battle sword'.

Mr. Gopalsami began his speech well after midnight and kept his sway over the audience till the end. The late C.N. Annadurai was sought to be projected at the venue

of the meeting through an illuminated cutout and a huge painting which formed the backdrop at the dais.

While his attack on the AIADMK was sharp and forthright, his snide remarks on the DMK drew cheers from the crowd.

Mr. Gopalsami relied on the record of his group's conduct in politics in the last six months since its exit from the DMK to make that appeal to the electorate of Mylapore. 'People should realise that Tamil Nadu now needs a disciplined force like ours', he said and shared his perception that the electoral verdict in Mylapore and Perundurai would decide the future of the State.

That he was keen to woo all segments of society was evident from the way he began his speech. He recalled the great people in the different sects who had made Mylapore proud and said he had come to the same place to seek the support of the people.

He branded the AIADMK Government under Ms. Jayalalitha as the most corrupt in the whole country. 'We don't want gun culture; we don't also want suitcase culture,' he said.

The sizeable Brahmin population in the constituency appeared to have weighed with some of the speakers.

Mr. L. Ganesan, the theoretician for the MDMK said the word 'Marumalarchi' (renaissance) in the party's name did not mean going back to the roots of the Dravidian movement and revive the anti-Brahmin attitude. At one point of time a movement against Brahmins was needed but now it was only against brahminism. Brahminism need not be with Brahmins alone but could be found in other sections of society also. The party was also not irreligious.

The candidate Mr. Dhanu himself opened the speech by reciting Sanskrit slokas and a reference to his worshipping at the temple before setting out to file his nomination. What, however, went down well with the crowd was his offer of thanks to the 67 candidates who had arrayed themselves against him in the election and his homage to late T.M. Rangarajan whose death in an accident caused the bye-election.

### Skepticism Over Sait's New Party Expressed

94AS0285E Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 2 May 94 p 10

[Article by Sakina Yusuf Khan: "Scepticism Over Sulaiman Sait's New Secular Party"]

[Text] New Delhi, May 1—The launching of the Indian National League in New Delhi last week by the former Indian Union Muslim League (IUM) president, Mr Ibrahim Sulaiman Sait, is being viewed with scepticism in political circles.

Political observers point out that the emergence of the new party is the logical culmination of the contradiction

within the IUML which has been persisting for quite some time. Over the past two years Mr Sait, who had reigned supreme as the IUML president since 1973, seemed to his party colleagues to be a leader out of touch with reality.

The Kerala IUML's objection to Mr Sait's approach and politics have been articulated by the state unit president, Mr Thangal, from time to time. The split, observers feel, was a foregone conclusion after Mr Sait's replacement by Mr G.M. Banatwala as party president in February this year.

Holding the Prime Minister and the Congress responsible for the demolition of the Babri-masjid, Mr Sait had been insisting on the withdrawal of the IUML from the Congress-led coalition government in Kerala.

But IUML MLAs [members of Legislative Assembly] believe that snapping the alliance would be impolitic as losing the Muslim support would leave the Congress free to woo the majority community more aggressively. Besides, they argued why should they agree to end the marriage of convenience that provided them control of 65 percent of the state's budget and plum ministries, including industry and education. But Mr Sait who had little at stake in the UDF [United Democratic Front] coalition dismissed them as power-hungry politicians and severed his ties with the IUML to set up his own party.

In a bid to don the secular mantle, Mr Sait dropped the word Muslim and chose to name his party Indian National League. The party's professed aim is to break out of the minority cocoon and join the secular mainstream and fight the fascist forces gaining ground in the country.

But there are very few willing to accept Mr Sait's professed secularism at its face value. Especially in view of the inaugural charter of demands raised by his party which include the formation of a ministry of minority affairs at the Centre, reservations for Muslims in government jobs, dialogue between the administration and the Kashmiri people for a political solution, the disciplining of anti-national forces like the RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh] (organization of service to the nation), the inclusion of wakf land and graveyard in the Babri masjid site and protection of the mosques in Mathura and Varanasi. These have raised eyebrows in political circles and already cast a shadow on the nascent organisation's professed secular aim.

Says Mr Tariq Anwar of the Congress: "If Mr Sait thinks that he can ensure his political survival by keeping the Ayodhya issue alive, he is being foolish. The recent assembly elections in six states have proved that Muslims do not want to submit their destiny to religious leadership and will not follow their diktat."

According to Mr Anwar, organisations like the IUML, have ceased to have any relevance and if a united IUML

could not progress beyond the backwaters of Kerala, to expect its decimated avatar to make an impact is being plain unrealistic.

While agreeing with Mr Anwar that there is no scope for a communal party in national politics, the Janata Dal MP [member of Parliament], Syed Shahabuddin, is not entirely dismissive of Mr Sait's new outfit. Says Mr Shahabuddin, "In so far as it is the launching of a secular party I welcome Mr Sait's initiative. But given his background, Mr Sait will have to prove his secular credentials to be accepted into the national mainstream which does not however mean that he has to stop advocating the legitimate causes of the Muslims. However, we must wait and watch the party's performance before passing any judgment on it."

A pertinent question being raised by critics is can a party whose very genesis is based on a religious issue like the Babri masjid be expected to follow a secular path? Mr Sait counters the contention vociferously. "The demand for rebuilding of the Babri masjid is not a religious demand. The demolition was a severe blow to the secular fabric of the nation. To reduce it to a Hindu-Muslim issue is mischievous," he says.

As for the other demands, Mr Sait says none of them can justifiably be called sectarian or communal. For instance, the Kashmir issue, the demand for reservation for backward sections of society are national and societal issues and have been raised by other secular parties as well from time to time. "Then why is it that when we raise these issues it is branded communal sectarian demand," he asks.

But as rightly pointed out by Mr Shahabuddin it is not IUML's raising these issues but its concentrating only on them in its inaugural convention which has raised doubts about the parties secular intentions.

But how does the former IUML patriarch propose to reconcile the party's professed secular ideals with the conservatism and fanatical outlook of the fundamentalists, who form the majority of Mr Sait's following? Mr Sait refutes the fact that the majority consists of extremists. He cites the overwhelming youth presence at the party's convention in Delhi last week as evidence of his support among the younger generation of Muslims which according to Mr Sait is neither fundamentalist nor communal.

#### **Akali Factions Dissolve, Form New Party**

94AS0285C Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 2 May 94 p 1

[All quotation marks as published]

[Text] Amritsar, May 1—Akali politics under the 'guidance' of the Akal Takht and influence of the Sikh clergy today took a new turn with the dissolution of six leading Akali Dal factions and formation of a new political party—the Shrimoni Akali Dal (Amritsar), reports UNI.

The new party made a "historic Amritsar declaration," renewing the 'age-old Akali' demand for the "formation of a separate area (state) for the Sikhs wherein the 'quam' (community) can experience the glow of freedom and freely profess and propagate its religious view-points and at the same time uplift Punjabi culture."

The declaration was read out at a public rally held inside the Golden Temple complex after the culmination of the week-long Akali unity process in which all the frontline Akali factions barring the Akali Dal (Badal) had participated.

In the declaration, the Akalis speaking on the lines of the Anandpur Sahib resolution also demanded that India be re-organised into a confederation of states wherein every religion and community could freely profess and propagate its views and culture. The declaration warned that if this demand for bringing about changes in the Indian constitution on federal lines was not met then the Akali leaders would be left with no option but to launch a struggle for an "independent sovereign Sikh state."

The Akali Dal which were dissolved today were the Akali Dal (Kabul), the Mann Dal, the Manjit Dal, the Babbar Akali Dal, Akali Dal (Panthic) and the Talwandi Akali Dal. The Badal faction of the Akalis aligned with the SGPC [Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (Sikh Temple Management Committee)] chief, Mr Gurcharan Singh Tohra, also announced their decision to leave their parent body and join the SAD [Shiromani Akali Dal (Akali Religious Party)] (Amritsar).

The frontline leaders of the dissolved Akali factions who had taken part in the unity process which was started on Monday last under the guidance of Akali Takht acting Jathedar Prof Manjit Singh took a pledge to preserve and protect the interests of the new party.

In the pledge read out by Bhai Manjit Singh who had still yesterday headed the Manjit Dal, the Akali leaders decided to re-dedicate themselves for the betterment of the Sikh community and for achieving the proposed demand for a 'separate Sikh area.'

Besides Bhai Manjit Singh the other leaders who took the pledge before the public gathering were former Punjab chief minister and Kabul faction leader Mr Surjit Singh Barnala, Mr Amrinder Singh of the Panthic Dal, Mr Simranjit Singh Mann, Mr Jagdev Singh Talwandi and Col Jasmer Singh of the Babbar Dal. Mr Barnala, who declared the formation of the new party, also announced to formation of a six-member committee consisting of the above-mentioned six leaders to run the affairs of the party.

The Amritsar declaration which was read out by Col. Jasmer Singh, former general secretary of the Babar Akali Dal soon after Mr Barnala finished his speech, was also greeted by the public. The contents of the one-page document created confusion for newsmen who wanted to

know whether the Akalis had demanded an "area for the Sikhs" within the Indian union or a separate independent state.

The declaration while raising this demand castigated the Congress leaders, who at the time of the Indo-Pakistan partition had promised the then Sikh leaders a similar "independent area" for the Sikhs. These leaders had betrayed the Sikhs as they did not create such a state, Mr Jasmer Singh said while reading out the document.

The document while drawing comparisons of the political and social realignments world-wide said it was only in such a Sikh state that the interests of the minorities could be protected and there would be scope for the expansion of Punjabi culture. Both Sikhs and Punjabis could feel free to profess and propagate their religion and culture in this 'free zone', the document added.

### **Bodo People's Party Splits, New Leaders Chosen**

94AS0285B Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English  
3 May 94 p 5

[Text] Guwahati, May 2—The Bodo Peoples' Party has finally split. The president of the party, Mr Sansuma Khungur Bwismutiary, has been removed.

The 75-member Central Working Committee elected at the political conference of the All Bodo Students' Union at Debergaon near Kokrajhar in last July has been dissolved.

Mr Prem Singh Brahma, general secretary and the chairman of the Bodoland Autonomous Council has taken over the leadership of the party at a special conference held at Tamulpur on April 30.

A new Central Working Committee was constituted and the office bearers were named there. Expectedly, Mr Bwismutiary challenged the validity of these steps.

He described the whole exercise as "a conspiracy" hatched by the Assam Chief Minister, Mr Hiteswar Saikia, in collusion with his agents in the Bodo movement.

According to sources, Mr Bwismutiary will continue to lead a rival faction of the Bodo People's Party with the old guard, Mr Rabiram Brahma, as general secretary.

However, his position has definitely weakened since he quit the post of chairman of the BAC [expansion not given]. Mr Bwismutiary's deputy, Mr Brahma, was elevated to the post of chairman.

The power to distribute resources coupled with the backing of the Chief Minister, helped him win over support from unexpected quarters.

The split in the leadership was expected to percolate in the organizational spheres.

### **Bodo People's Party Holds First Conference**

94AS0286F Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
9 May 94 p 15

[Text] Guwahati, May 8.

As expected, the internal crisis in the Bodoland People's Party [BPP] has further intensified.

The first annual conference of the BPP at Bodobazar in Bijni in Bongaigaon district, under the chairmanship of its president Mr. Sansuma Khungur Bwiswmutiary (6-7 May), expelled Mr. Premsing Brahma, presently the Chief Executive Member of the Bodoland Autonomous Council (BAC) and General Secretary of the BPP, from the primary membership of the BPP.

At another two-day conference of the BPP, also described as the first annual conference, held at Tamulpar in Nalbari district on 29-30 April, Mr. Sansuma Khungur Bwiswmutiary himself had been removed from the presidency of the BPP and replaced by Mr. Premsing Brahma.

The Bijni conference appointed Mr. Rabiram Brahma, the General Secretary of the All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU) throughout the years of the Bodoland agitation and, who had recently resigned as Executive Member of the BAC, as General Secretary of the BPP it annulled the expulsion of Mr. Baliram Boro, Vice-President of the BPP, from the party, and reinstated him in his original position. The decision to expel Mr. Baliram Boro had been taken on April 18 following public criticism by Mr. Baliram Boro of some of the actions of Mr. Premsing Brahma and his supporters in the BAC, particularly disbursement of BAC funds.

According to reports available in Guwahati, the Bijni conference was attended by about a thousand delegates representing eight of the 11 district committees of the BPP.

On the face of it, these developments appear all too typical of any fledgling political party and seem to be based on personal rivalries and accusations of financial irregularities as well as frustrations over the non-implementation of the Bodo accord, in particular the refusal of the State Government to include 515 more villages (in addition to the 2,750 already notified) in the BAC area. However, beyond these real and manufactured grievances are some more fundamental issues touching on the "Bodo national question" that animated the Bodoland agitation—issues which the Bodo accord did not even touch upon.

It is true that Mr. Hiteswar Saikia has exploited the more superficial of the differences among Bodo leaders with a view to splitting the leadership and finally marginalising the Bodo nationalist aspirations—as he has done in the case of ULFA [United Liberation Front of Assam]. Nevertheless, such developments do not mean that one faction of the Bodo leadership is less sensitive to those more basic issues than the other or that one faction has

compromised itself by agreeing to have a working relationship with Mr. Hiteswar Saikia—the charge brought against Mr. Premsing Brahma by Mr. Bwiswmutiary and his supporters. For, whoever occupies political office in the BAC structure will, by definition, be tarred as a "collaborationist," with those excluded adopting, apparently out of necessity, a more nationalist posture.

Viewed from a broader perspective, however, there seems to be an underlying unity of perception on Bodo 'national' aspirations even in the midst of all these wrangles. And as these developments enfeeble all the organically related structures committed to the Bodo accord and the fulfilment of these aspirations within the ambit of the Indian Constitution—the ABSU, the BPP and the BAC—the only certain gainer will be the most extreme and explicitly secessionist of the Bodo nationalist structures, the Bodo Security Force, waiting in the wings to pick up the pieces and appropriate the Bodo movement.

### **Details of ASLV Modifications Reported**

94AS0286A Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
3 May 94 p 1

[Text] Madras, May 2.

The Augmented Satellite Launch Vehicle [ASLV]-D4 to be launched from Sriharikota in Andhra Pradesh on May 4 incorporates significant modifications for the rocket to achieve a minimum perigee of 400 km altitude, and ensure a one-year life for the satellite that will be placed in orbit.

The launch window for the ASLV, whose last developmental flight was a success in 1992, has been set for 5:30 a.m. to 7:30 a.m. on Wednesday.

Modifications have been carried out in the ASLV-D4 in three areas compared to previous flight missions. Refinements have been done for the four spin rockets to provide the required impulse. In the ASLV-D3, only two of the four rockets could give the required impulse resulting in fewer revolutions per minute. The computers and software have been updated, and adequate safety margins provided to handle the shock imparted to the ongoing stage by the separated stage of the rocket.

The ASLV-D4 has five stages using solid fuel, including two strap-on motors that propel the 23.8 metre high rocket with a lift off weight of 41.7 tonnes. The SROSS-C2 [Stretched Rohini Satellite Series] satellite payload weighing 113 kg to be put in the 400 km elliptical orbit has two scientific experiments—Gamma Ray Burst Detector and Retarding Potential Analyser. The satellite weighs about 7 kg more than the last one.

Briefing visiting presspersons at Sriharikota today, the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) Chairman, Dr. K. Kasturirangan, said the 47 hour countdown for the launch was progressing satisfactorily.



The scientific experiments were being repeated in the current satellite from the last time as the previous satellite had less than estimated life and did not provide the required quantum of data.

The previous flight—ASLV-D3—as against the expected orbit of 400 km achieved only 264 km. The modifications in the vehicle this time have been brought in to overcome this.

Dr. Kasturirangan said the primary objective of the mission was to evaluate a number of technologies from the previous flights, including the strap-on motors, their separation dynamics, closed-loop guidance system, bulbous heat shield and flexible dynamics.

Mr. V. Manoharan, Project and Mission Director, ASLV, explained the modifications carried out in the latest developmental flight.

#### Member, Space Commission

New Delhi, May 2.

Dr. Arjun Sengupta, Member-Secretary, Planning Commission, has been appointed a member of the high-power Space Commission, an official release today said.—UNI

### IRAN

#### ABRAR Interviews Agriculture Minister Kalantari

##### Part 1

94LA0167A Tehran ABRAR in Persian  
26 Apr 94 pp 1,4,9

[Text] Economic Service—It is said that within the next 10 to 15 years the nation's foreign exchange revenues from oil sales will be cut off. It is said that if agriculture is not the only hope, it is the nation's greatest hope for replacing oil. It is said that the government is not giving the necessary attention to agriculture. It is said that with the measures that could be taken, the agriculture situation could be brought to a state that not only would we be self-sufficient with domestic consumption, but we could also break new ground in the area of exports.

The importance of agriculture and the proposed consolidation of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of the Construction Jihad have led us to seek interviews with the minister of agriculture, the minister of the construction jihad, the minister of heavy industries, and the minister of mines and metals.

Concerning the interview with Dr. 'Isa Kalantari, minister of agriculture through the efforts by Engineer Khamseh, general manager of publications for the Ministry of Agriculture, after three extensions of the time for the interview we were finally able last Thursday (a holiday) to have an interview with him for several hours.

Dr. 'Isa Kalantari is an expert on agriculture from several perspectives. He is an engineer in the field

(agriculture/botanical engineering) from Urmia Agricultural University. He took his master's degree in the same field from America's University of Nebraska, and he finally graduated with an American Ph.D. in "agricultural physiology."

Dr. Kalantari's experience in science, research, and education includes teaching undergraduates as a doctoral student, research on issues pertaining to the physiology of agriculture with regard to corn and soy beans, research on the system of cultivation and the model for feeding the Islamic Republic of Iran, and teaching in various agricultural colleges.

What you will read below is the result of our relatively long interview with Dr. Kalantari. As always, in this interview he answered our questions using only his astonishing memory.

We hope in the near future to have ABRAR's interviews with the minister of the construction jihad, the minister of heavy industries, and the minister of mines and metals.

[ABRAR] Mr. Minister, it is being said that Iran's foreign exchange revenues will drop to zero in 10 to 15 years.

On the other hand, last year Iran imported about \$1.5 billion in foodstuffs, while our exports of agricultural crops, with all the commotion, did not even reach \$1 billion.

In view of what has been said, many are worried that after its oil revenues end Iran will go hungry. Do you think this concern is appropriate, or groundless?

[Kalantari] Of course. Unfortunately, this is a reality. After 10 years, according to some people, after 15 years according to others, Iran's oil production will reach the point where it will only be enough for domestic consumption. Perhaps after 15 years we will have nothing to export without sharply reducing domestic consumption in order to have enough to export.

[ABRAR] How much domestic production [as published] is there, for us to "sharply reduce," as you say?

[Kalantari] Based on existing information, per-capita oil consumption in the world is declining sharply and continuously, while, to the contrary, in our country per-capita consumption is increasing. In this respect we are an exception in the world.

[ABRAR] Then you agree that in 15 years at most, we will have no more foreign exchange revenues from oil. In this case, what will happen? Will Iran go hungry or not?

[Kalantari] This depends on the Iranians themselves. We could go hungry or not go hungry. In my view, with appropriate investment and proper implementation, we could even make agricultural products a replacement for oil.

Everything depends on our own nation, it depends on our own planning and policy making.

[ABRAR] You referred to planning and the fact that the policymakers must make a decision. You are an agricultural policymaker. Our country has its resources. All the statistics and figures say we have everything. Why, in view of the vast variety of our climates, don't the policymakers, as you say, make decisions so that we will no longer import more food than we export?

[Kalantari] In general they wish to do this, but they have priorities. It is true that agriculture is currently an important priority, but 65 to 70 percent of the nation's foreign exchange revenues still comes from oil exports. We have had explosive population growth since the revolution. Along with that we have the problems and difficulties that were created for us by the imposed war. We have reconstruction before us. Well, when they took the priorities into account, clearly the bombed and destroyed refinery had priority.

[ABRAR] In your view was this setting of priorities correct? That is, did agriculture find its true position?

[Kalantari] I cannot express a definite opinion on this. The country was faced with a fuel shortage, and in any case its refinery had to be built. The power plants had to be rebuilt. Investment in building a dam to capture water had more priority than delivering water to a desert.

[ABRAR] You mentioned investment. What kind of attention was given to agriculture and investment in this sector after the revolution?

[Kalantari] Throughout the war we had no serious investment in the form of infrastructure investment in the agriculture sector. There was somewhat more attention after the war, but not to the point where we could do infrastructure work in order to be food exporters within five years. The priorities did not permit this.

[ABRAR] We were not even able to do anything to increase agricultural exports to the level of agricultural imports?

[Kalantari] If we judge fairly, we have had good progress in recent years. Four to five years ago we did not do what we could have done either with respect to production or development. We could have done more, invested more. We could have produced more.

[ABRAR] Why didn't you?

[Kalantari] Again this goes back to the level of resources. The financial resources did not exist. In infrastructure investment and foreign exchange, again the priorities went to other sectors.

[ABRAR] You said that after the war more attention was given to the agriculture sector.

[Kalantari] More attention was given, but not to the extent it should have been.

More investment was made, but perhaps it would have been appropriate if it had been several times that amount. You must realize that at that time we did not even have a consulting engineer in our organizations. Despite this, we came and created these shortages. The country has everything that is needed for a leap in production.

Some people did not believe in production. There were some who could not believe that it would be possible to produce. They say "agriculture does not have priority, agriculture does not have priority" so much that this has been transformed into a "belief."

[ABRAR] Has this belief now been discredited, or does it still exist?

[Kalantari] To some extent this belief has been discredited. Fortunately, those who hold this belief are now in the minority.

[ABRAR] Meaning there are not enough of them to be obstructive?

[Kalantari] Perhaps they can, but I do not think they can be successful. Nor do they any longer have the courage to do so. To some extent the performance under the Five-Year Plan and the clarification of issues and problems have disarmed them, unless they are people with little knowledge. Despite this, to the extent that we have gone from one atmosphere to another, standing in front of a tangible reality has made their task difficult.

[ABRAR] You have mentioned a jump in production. Can we hope for a jump in agricultural production in the near future?

[Kalantari] Of course we, meaning both the government and the Ministry of Agriculture, can make this jump. However we, meaning the government agriculture sector, have not always been the ones to decide. If the national will is at play, we certainly can do so. If there is no sabotage, we certainly can do so.

[ABRAR] If it is this way. If there is no sabotage. Who are these saboteurs, Mr. Minister?

[Kalantari] In any case, the overall decisionmaker is the government.

When the return on our irrigation is about 33 percent, when the nation's greatest agricultural problem, in terms of short-term production, is water, when with a small amount of investment this return could be increased to 50 percent, we have the resources. The engineering resources exist. The technical procedures exist. The industry exists. There is not even any foreign exchange needed in this sector. Our agriculture is suffering from the lack of water.

[ABRAR] As you put it, all the technical and executive resources exist. So where is the problem? Why don't you do this?

[Kalantari] The primary problem is financial. The government must give money, the government must invest. Supposing the government agrees to make 60 percent of the investment needed for agriculture, the people would pay the other 40 percent.

[ABRAR] How much is this 60 percent?

[Kalantari] A total of about 1,600 billion tumans.

[ABRAR] In view of the fact that this is a trivial amount in relation to this huge project, what kind of thinking, what group, invests billions of dollars in sectors that are not as necessary for the country as agriculture, while they are stingy in the agriculture sector?

[Kalantari] Well look, the one making the decision is the government, and ...

[ABRAR] You are a member of the Council of Ministers yourself, you have shared responsibility in the government...

[Kalantari] I have shared responsibility, agreed, but they say that 1,600 billion tumans does not exist.

[ABRAR] Where should the government's 60 percent share, which would be about 900 billion tumans, be spent?

[Kalantari] No, this must be procured over a six- or seven-year period.

[ABRAR] If this investment were made, what changes would be made in agriculture, other than raising the rate of return on water from 33 to 50 percent?

[Kalantari] Definitely and certainly, in the agriculture sector not only would we achieve self-sufficiency, but also our exports would increase dramatically?

[ABRAR] In my view, the implementation of such a beautiful and useful project would be supported by the Majles deputies, the media, and the officials. Who wants to put obstacles in your way?

[Kalantari] Well! They say: We have no money. Just last year about half the country was in a drought. We could have, fortunately, minimized the production deficiencies.

If we make the necessary investments, even if we do have a year or two of drought the damage will not be that great.

[ABRAR] Mr. Minister! You are being conservative to an extent. Half the farmers and experts believe that the attention that is being given to industries and services in the country is not being given to agriculture...

[Kalantari] Yes, in the First Five-Year Plan, we invested a great deal in industry.

[ABRAR] And your needs were not addressed?

[Kalantari] Our needs were addressed, but it got nowhere, other than the instance with water I mentioned. In the area of agricultural training, if we invested less than one-tenth of these costs in this area, there would be a striking increase in agricultural production.

[ABRAR] Look, Mr. Minister! All the experts, and by that I mean the experts with whom we are in contact, with whose theories we are familiar, or whose articles we read, believe that agriculture can get the country out of its one-product condition, that agriculture is the salvation of Iran's economy, and not industry.

[Kalantari] Agriculture and industries dependent on agriculture, modern and complete agriculture. Yes, in my view this comes before industry.

Our problem is the problem of the government's heavy expenses. The government has two million staff employees, and they all have wages. Taxes are not collected in sufficient amounts.

[ABRAR] These are not expenses, they cannot be contained. You do not mean that the wages of staff employees should be cut?

[Kalantari] No! We need more revolutionary action. As the president of the republic said at the last Friday prayer service, we must deal with these instances.

[ABRAR] What are these instances?

[Kalantari] The subsidies we pay to the energy sector are seven or eight times the amount the consumer spends.

The useless subsidy that is paid for gasoline is seven to eight times the entire budget for the nation's universities.

[ABRAR] Don't you think that if these subsidies were not paid, the main agencies in charge (the ministries of energy and petroleum) would use the extra revenues to develop their own work and not agriculture?

[Kalantari] A decision must be made. One must see. A solution must be found. A solution will be found.

## Part 2

94LA0167B Tehran ABRAR in Persian 26 Apr 94 p 4

[Text] Economic Service. The consolidation of ministries, of which much is being said these days in agricultural circles, was one of the subjects we discussed in our interview with Dr. Isa Kalantari, minister of agriculture. In this discussion many issues became clear to us, as economic writers. We did not know that one-third of the ministers in Vietnam's Government deal with agricultural issues. We did not know, for example, that New Zealand, whose agriculture and animal husbandry are famous, has done careful scientific planning to establish a separate ministry for each agricultural field, and after it achieves its goal they dissolve that ministry and then start anew in another field.

Fortunately, Dr. Kalantari knows no fatigue, and in speaking with him one can discuss every agricultural subject. Whenever the subject is progress and development, his face is cheerful, and whenever he feels that a danger threatens Iran's agriculture, sadness and sorrow are evident on his face.

In this interview we came to the conclusion that if any kind of change or consolidation were done without expert study and research in agriculture, which covers one-third of the nation's economy, it would be a national crime. Iran's farmers had four ministries at one time, at one time they had three, at one time they had two, and at one time they had one, and these baseless changes have transformed Iran from a food exporter to one of the region's main food importers.

Below you will read the second part of the interview with Dr. Kalantari.

[ABRAR] Mr. Minister! If you are willing, let us digress from the main subject and talk about the consolidation of ministries. As you know, the Majles has approved the consolidation of the Ministry of Industries, the Ministry of Heavy Industries, and the Ministry of Mines and Metals, and it is said that it is also studying consolidation of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Construction Jihad. What is your view on this?

[Kalantari] Well, whatever is "the law" must be implemented.

[ABRAR] Yes. There is no doubt about this. However, we are asking you this question not as a minister of agriculture, but as Dr. 'Isa Kalantari, a real person, a man whose studies and executive occupations have had to do with the nation's agriculture for more than a decade. We are asking the Dr. Kalantari who has seen many of the nations that have agricultural industries, and who has close familiarity with the way they work.

[Kalantari] Well, we must ask what is the goal of doing this? If the goal is to have one organization responsible for the agricultural sector, we must sit and see what this will accomplish for our agriculture. I say this not as the minister of agriculture, but as someone who at least has the right to express an opinion on this matter, someone with 13 to 14 years experience in agricultural executive work and who has familiarity with the nation's problems, and who knows what our problems are in the agricultural sector.

[ABRAR] Yes, in view of the things you mentioned, we wanted to know, what views have you put forward in the meetings to make decisions on this important matter.

[Kalantari] Not in this matter, but even in the matter of food industries, which you mentioned previously, we are mostly observers. They do not even ask us in what part of the country a certain food industry should be located.

For example, it is possible that they will give an agreement in principle in a certain region to a food industry that is not a part of our system of cultivation at all.

[ABRAR] Do you mean that these kinds of decisions are made without even coordinating it with you?

[Kalantari] Yes, these decisions are made without coordination with us.

[ABRAR] In view of the close similarity of the work of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Construction Jihad, in your view what organizations from your ministry should be attached to the Ministry of the Construction Jihad, and which ones from the Ministry of the Construction Jihad should be added to your ministry?

[Kalantari] I do not see many organizations that should be removed from these two ministries. The development of food industries should have a role in both of these ministries.

[ABRAR] Is the development of food industries now under the mantle of the Ministry of Industries?

[Kalantari] Yes. I am not saying that we should be in charge of the executive activity, but views must ultimately be given. Of course, in general the goals must be to improve the agricultural situation. This executive officer or that executive officer is not personally important to me.

[ABRAR] Is there no communication among the ministries? For example, in the production of agricultural machinery, aren't "needs" taken into account, with production done on the basis of needs?

[Kalantari] Sometimes needs are taken into account and sometimes they are not.

[ABRAR] Meaning that these communications are not maintained constantly between the ministries?

[Kalantari] These communications are very little. When they wish to do so, they establish them, when they do not wish to do so, they do not.

[ABRAR] How necessary are these communications?

[Kalantari] They are absolutely necessary!

[ABRAR] Is this discussed in the Council of Ministers as a problem?

[Kalantari] Of course, it has been discussed, and it was decided that a review would be done of the government organizations.

[ABRAR] What is your personal opinion about the consolidation of the two ministries?

[Kalantari] In my personal view, not only would this consolidation be of no benefit to the country, but as a solution to several small problems, it will create larger problems. In the area of production, we are now nearing the leaps we desire to make. We are preparing infrastructure. We will suddenly be faced with a huge expansion with which we will be absolutely unable to deal. I think



that if one ministry comes into existence, the official in charge of it will not have the ability to think, nor will he have the ability to monitor the situation. This is a greater task than you think.

[ABRAR] Especially when in agricultural matters producers are absolutely affiliated with the government, they are absolutely supported by the government.

[Kalantari] This is really the main problem. If our agricultural producers were like the industrial producer where there is overall management, they would all be literate and their producing units would be big. In this case we would not have subsidies where the government would have to intervene.

[ABRAR] At a time when our country needs to do more to improve its agricultural lands, we hear officials saying that billions of tumans worth of the nation's pastures, soil and forests are on the verge of destruction. For example, they say that 64 percent of the nation's soil resources remain unused. What is the government doing? Why don't you do something?

[Kalantari] In view of the nature of our country, natural resources must be a separate matter. There should be a separate ministry for that. I believe that if we want to preserve our water and soil, for the next 30 to 40 years we must rebuild our natural resources in a mobilized and revolutionary way.

[ABRAR] By mobilized and revolutionary, do you mean outside administrative limits?

[Kalantari] Yes, outside the administrative bureaucracy. That is, all the nation's resources, when idle, should be mobilized to preserve natural resources.

I mean all forces, even military forces in peacetime. Even during summer vacations, students should be used for this national mobilization, which is very vital.

[ABRAR] Have you presented this idea anywhere?

[Kalantari] It has been presented again and again, but we have yet to reach a conclusion. What I am saying is that to improve the agricultural situation the two existing ministries are not enough.

[ABRAR] You are now emphasizing work on natural resources. Will a transfer of activity, such as transferring from the Ministry of the Construction Jihad to the Ministry of Agriculture, be useful for accomplishing this?

[Kalantari] Of course it depends on what decision is made. Transferring will not help at all. For example, it will make no difference to transfer activity from the Ministry of the Construction Jihad to the Ministry of Agriculture. The issue is that more attention should be given to natural resources. The ability to work must be increased.

[ABRAR] Other than natural resources, what other areas need more attention?

[Kalantari] The next problem is rural development.

[ABRAR] In view of these problems, in view of the fact that there are 60,000 rural areas in the country, don't you think that if the Ministry of the Construction Jihad were closer it would be more useful to the Ministry of Agriculture?

[Kalantari] No, this still needs work. Rural development must be done.

[ABRAR] Rural development is being done now. Is there mutual cooperation?

[Kalantari] Perhaps there is not a lot of need for cooperation. An executive officer can work on it, but there are few resources and little attention. More attention must be given to the nation's rural development, water and soil. This is a vast task.

I really don't know, in view of the vastness of the task, what those people who want to have one ministry in the agricultural sector are thinking about.

[ABRAR] I think this idea is in its early stages. It is still at the level of murmurs, talk, and study.

[Kalantari] No, a special commission has also been formed. However, this is a dangerous decision. It is a decision that will definitely bring our problems up to 100, yet the benefits probably won't even come to 10.

[ABRAR] Apparently they are considering manpower adjustment and reducing costs. They are thinking of reducing the number of buildings and other things...

[Kalantari] You have put your finger on an interesting point. Those who favor consolidation are thinking for example that if two ministries become one, there will be seven or eight fewer deputy ministers, 30 to 40 fewer general managers and five to six fewer consultants.

[ABRAR] Yes, it is just so. There will be reductions here.

[Kalantari] Yes, there might be a total of 200 fewer people. On the other hand, what would be lost? The respected Majles deputies and other officials who will be deciding must consider what return we will get for the country on an tuman we invest in these circumstances, and what will the return be under the new conditions?

We employ thousands of people in the agricultural sector. We must also meet our needs in the training, research, infrastructure, and other sectors. Definitely, if we want to have an active agricultural sector, we will not reduce manpower, we will increase it. These increases will take place in the specialist sectors, for our agriculture must necessarily move in that direction. Apart from that, if manpower is reduced by 200 people, they will be employed elsewhere.

[ABRAR] What about the administrative buildings? Won't we save in this area?

[Kalantari] It is even possible that 10 to 15 buildings will be added, with a possible value of 2 billion or 10 billion tumans, but what will we be losing? The losses will be in the hundreds of billions of tumans. Economic, social, and scientific accounting, writing and adding and subtraction must be done, and then a decision must be made.

Of course, whatever decision the respected Majles makes will be implemented. However, I think that neither now nor in the next 10 to 20 years should we be thinking of reducing the size of the organizations in the agricultural sector. Ultimately, we will have to expand it.

Agriculture has a role in one-third of the nation's economy.

We must give more attention, much, much more attention to it.

[ABRAR] There have been many changes in the administration of the agricultural sector in our country. Sometimes these changes have been damaging. During one period the agricultural sector had four ministries (the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Agriculture and Consumer Materials, the Ministry of Natural Resources, and the Ministry of Cooperatives and Rural Affairs); it had three during one period (the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Natural Resources, and the Ministry of Cooperatives and Rural Affairs); during one period it had two ministries (the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources and the Ministry of Cooperatives and Rural Affairs); and during one period it had one ministry (the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development).

Several years after the revolution responsibilities were divided with the establishment of the Ministry of the Construction Jihad, and now that the responsibilities have been divided, and now that after several years these two ministries have become established, they are thinking of change again.

The question, though, is won't our agriculture be damaged by all this change? In your view, as a person who is educated and is a specialist in this field and who has worked in the agricultural sector for 12 to 13 years in various capacities, does our agricultural sector need several ministries? I have heard that in some countries they have four or five active ministries in the agricultural sector. There is even a country like New Zealand, which creates a ministry in a specific field such as fisheries for 20 to 25 years, and then converts this ministry to function under another ministry (agriculture) after activating that field, and they establish another ministry in another field.

[Kalantari] I think our agriculture needs more than two ministries. I think there should now be one organization responsible for rural development, another responsible

for the nation's natural resources, and another responsible for the nation's agriculture. This need will exist for our country for the next 20 to 30 years.

### Part 3

94LA0167C Tehran ABRAR in Persian 30 Apr 94 p 4

[Text] Economic Service— With all the efforts that were made to keep the interview with Dr. 'Isa Kalantari from going too long, in view of the importance of the issues discussed in this interview, we were reluctant to edit the article too much.

Despite the fact that many issues having to do with agriculture were discussed, it is necessary to explain that what you have read and will read today is excerpts from this relatively long interview.

Following the publication of the first and second installments of the interview, countless readers contacted the newspaper wanting to raise other issues with Dr. Kalantari. However, these readers must realize that it is practically impossible to discuss all the issues in one interview.

Even so, their questions were sent to the Public Relations Office of the Ministry of Agriculture, so we can print the answers after we receive them from the minister of agriculture.

It is worth mentioning that this interview will not be entirely conclusive unless we interview Engineer Gholam Reza Foruzesh, minister of construction jihad, and we hope to hold this interview as soon as possible.

Printed below in this issue you will find the final installment of the interview with Dr. Kalantari.

[ABRAR] Mr. Minister! With your permission, let us return to the first part of the interview. You have said repeatedly that the government has no money. On the one hand you have said that if the government would invest 900 million tumans over a seven-year period, many problems would be solved. This would be 120-130 million tumans per year, and we hope that the Majles deputies, the media, the officials, and the government itself will give the necessary importance to this important matter. In this same regard you mentioned that energy subsidies are useless. Mr. Minister! The elimination of this subsidy for a people who are crushed beneath the weight of high prices cannot be a suitable solution. The people are also without money. How much is this energy subsidy?

[Kalantari] It is 2 trillion tumans per year! I am not saying this subsidy should be cut all at once. This should be done gradually, over a 10-year period. As far as I know, the government cannot make investments. This is an important point. With current revenues, with existing expenses, even if the government wishes to do so it cannot invest any more in agriculture. We need national

investment. The people must be given a justification. The people must reduce their waste. The people must not be extravagant.

[ABRAR] The government has asked the people with you, and they have made reductions. In these 15 years the people have declared their willingness to make every kind of sacrifice. But...?

[Kalantari] We did not ask, but our religion has taught the people not to be extravagant for 1,400 years.

[ABRAR] The people are not extravagant. If what you mean by extravagance is waste, the people are not to blame. For example, with regard to wasted bread, it is the bad quality of the bread. Are you and the government to blame for this?

[Kalantari] This is one dimension of the problem. The government is also to blame. These very useless universal subsidies are one of the main factors in the waste. We must not give the public subsidies in the form of goods. We should pay money for the goods to the low-income classes. If someone buys bread at 35-40 tumans per kilogram and eats it, he does not throw it away, he does not waste it. A baker now makes 1 tuman profit for each kilogram of bread. Well, for this profit, we cannot expect him to sell good-quality bread.

[ABRAR] The president of the republic has also said this, but we heard that some people asked that we not get into this subject. Is that correct?

[Kalantari] Of course, those people want to take the easiest path, not the most proper path. They themselves do not want to deal with the problem. There are people who do not want to think. They do not want to put forth a new procedure.

[ABRAR] In what way can cash subsidies be paid to the needy and deprived, who are said to number about 40 million?

[Kalantari] About 40 percent of the nation's population is rural. We may not have anyone more deprived than them, but there is no bread subsidy for this great population (about 20 million people). They are buying bread at the true price. They are buying wheat at the same price it is sold to us and making it into flour and bread. There is no waste in their bread. There is also a solution for the others.

[ABRAR] Let us talk about agricultural exports. What are the difficulties now facing exports?

[Kalantari] Currently our food industries have two obstacles to exports, one is political, the other is hygiene.

[ABRAR] In the first case, I do not think that this is a serious obstacle, that is if we can export food at international standards.

[Kalantari] No, you are mistaken. If they are not buying our oil, does this mean they will buy our lemon juice and catsup?

[ABRAR] Meaning, from this perspective we have a problem with the European Common Market?

[Kalantari] Forget about the European Common Market. We have very little access to that. Consider our neighbor countries. With knowledge of the market price there, if we sold apples there at \$.50 per kilogram, they would immediately bring the same apples of the same quality from that side of the world and sell them for \$.20 per kilogram.

[ABRAR] Well, do they do this "dumping" everywhere?

[Kalantari] No! It is only for the products from our country. Just as soon as our agricultural products, and just ours, come in, this kind of competition, which is mostly political, takes place. Of course this is mostly done with goods that are subject to spoilage.

[ABRAR] Of the nation's some 51 million hectares [ha] of arable land, how much is actually being used? Statistics say that 64 percent of Iran's soil resources, 55 percent of its water resources, 63 percent of its forest and pasture resources, and 85 percent of its aquatic food sources are not being used. Are the statistics correct?

[Kalantari] The 51 million ha is correct, provided we have water. We now have 7.5 million ha of irrigated agriculture and about 11 million ha of dry-farmed agriculture.

[ABRAR] Meaning that the country's existing water is not sufficient for these 51 million ha?

[Kalantari] It is not adequate for 51 million ha. However, if we want, we can easily increase irrigated farm land from 7.5 million to 20 million ha, as I said before, if there is investment, if the government wishes to do so, if the Majles insists.

[ABRAR] ...and 63 percent of the forest and pasture resources?

[Kalantari] You should ask the minister of construction jihad about that, but I do not think this figure is correct.

[ABRAR] ...and 85 percent of the aquatic food resources?

[Kalantari] I think you should ask the executive director of fisheries about that.

[ABRAR] We would like to know your view of the claim that if proper use were made of aquatic resources our country would be freed of the need to import hundreds of millions of dollars of food each year.

[Kalantari] I think that we use more than 15 percent of the sea resources. It is difficult for me to believe this.

[ABRAR] You asked us to ask the minister of the construction jihad about forests and pastures. What is your view?

[Kalantari] The greatest damage to the nation's agriculture is the destruction of water and soil. In the future, this will not only be a cultivation problem, it will also be a major problem for the nation's industries as well. They are destroying the country, they are destroying life. Every year 4 billion square meters, or 400,000 ha, or 4,000 square km, of our nation's soil is destroyed and...

[ABRAR] And this is negligence by you and the government!

[Kalantari] All of us! It makes no difference if it is the people, the government, they all go together.

[ABRAR] What did the people do wrong? How can they prevent the destruction of water and soil?

[Kalantari] It makes not difference. All of us! We do not notice that our country's soil is being destroyed.

[ABRAR] Well, now we ask you. What should be done to prevent the destruction of water and soil?

[Kalantari] I say that we valued our country's water and soil when we were faced with a foreign enemy and our youth sacrificed themselves for every inch of our homeland's water and soil. Then we have thousands of kilometers of our soil being destroyed and we are silent. Yet it is necessary for us to give this same importance to our water and soil in the struggle against natural problems, and not just in the battle with the foreign enemy. This task does not cost a lot. Its importance has not yet become evident to the country. The people and the officials are not yet aware of the importance of this problem culturally and economically.

[ABRAR] Now that we have become aware of the importance of the problem, what should we do to prevent heavy losses to our nation's soil?

[Kalantari] We must determine what are the agents of the destruction.

[ABRAR] Who should determine that?

[Kalantari] We must determine it.

[ABRAR] You are determining it. Are you studying in order to prevent this destruction?

[Kalantari] As I said to you before, this task is not one of the responsibilities of the Ministry of Agriculture, it is the responsibility of the Ministry of the Construction Jihad.

[ABRAR] Mr. Minister! Thank you for the time you have given us for this relatively long interview. We hope we have not tired you.

[Kalantari] I thank you also.

### **Economic Conditions Called Desperate, Declining**

94LA0150A London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic  
27 Mar 94 pp 22-27

[Article by Dr. Nuri Zadeh: "The Coca Cola, Pepsi Cola, and Hamburger War in the Republic of the Ayatollahs"]

[Text] About three months ago, the manager of the Pavilion-M [Ravaq-M] Restaurant, in the northern part of the Iranian capital, invited a crowd of journalists and cultural figures to attend the grand opening ceremony of this luxury restaurant, the construction of which cost more than 800 million Iranian rials [R]. It was expected that the Pavilion-M Restaurant would serve fast food (hamburgers and sandwiches like at McDonald's). When those invited went to the restaurant on the appointed day, they were surprised to encounter hundreds of members of the [Revolution] Guard, young revolutionaries, and some clergymen encircling the restaurant after it had been destroyed, hoisting signs with the slogan "Death to America, death to McDonald's, down with hamburgers, we will not allow the squandering of the blood of the martyrs by having McDonald's come into Tehran."

Two days later it turned out that the reason for the anger of Hizbollah, which had attacked the restaurant, was the letter "M" that the owner of the restaurant had drawn on the windows of the restaurant and the fact that it looked like the "M" used by the McDonald's Corporation.

In an interview with the press, the restaurant owner said that he was managing a large restaurant corporation in Spain when some of Rafsanjani's men contacted him, inviting him to set up similar restaurants in Iran, under the protection of the government. He revealed the fact that he had paid large amounts of money to the municipality and to the advertising company subordinate to the municipality for the preparation of a special logo for the restaurant. He assured the press that the letter "M" referred to the name of his company and not to McDonald's.

The incident involving the destruction of the Pavilion-M Restaurant unleashed a war of words between the supporters of the president of the Republic and the representatives of the radical movement in the Majles and in the press. The government was subjected to fierce attacks in the Majles and Friday prayers because it had given permission to the U.S. company, Coca Cola, to set up plants in Khorasan and Tehran in order to produce the Iranian people's favorite drink. One should bear in mind that the revolution had confiscated the property of the Coca Cola, Pepsi Cola, and 7-Up companies in 1979. Pepsi Cola, however, returned to Iran, but with a new taste, which after a while was not accepted by the Iranian people. But those who still wanted Coca Cola had to buy their favorite drink on the black market, where a can of Coca Cola produced in Pakistan, Turkey, or the Gulf states cost 80 tomans. Since the Coca Cola plants began production in Iran on the basis of an agreement between the U.S. company and the Iranian Coca Company, most of whose shares are owned by businessmen who have



close ties to the government, the other beverages such as Pepsi Cola, Canada [Dry], and Kawthar Cola have not been able to compete with it. The result is that bankruptcy is the possible fate of the firms that produce all these drinks—all of which are owned by the Foundation for the Oppressed.

In spite of the hostile campaigns, the Coca Cola Company continues to operate, and its plant in Tehran is expected to begin production, after it has been shown that the plant in Mashhad is unable to keep up with the market demand which consumes 2 billion containers of non-alcoholic beverages per year. This surge in business happened because of protection granted by President Rafsanjani and his assistant for economic affairs, Dr. Mohsen Nurbakhsh, to the Coca Cola Company and all the companies which benefited from the easy terms provided at the beginning of Rafsanjani's administration and proceeded to set up joint companies and plants with foreign establishments.

Although the radicals succeeded in destroying the Pavilion-M Restaurant and preventing what they described as McDonald's entering the land of the revolution, Coca Cola still remains the symbol of change in this country where the U.S. dollar has become the semi-official currency.

As long as Coca Cola bottles fill refrigerators, according to Qazvin's representative in the Majles, the men of the revolution will consider Iran to be in danger, and will be forgetting what the real danger is.

### The Real Danger

"This son and his father turned Iran into a big graveyard." This is the famous utterance spoken by Ayatollah Khomeini, on the day of his return to Iran in January of 1979, at the Zahra' Garden Cemetery when he was describing the Shah and his father Reza Shah, the founder of the Pahlavi dynasty. By now this utterance has become part of a joke told by people in Iran, and which goes as follows: "The Shah turned Iran into a humble cemetery, but there is no greater cemetery in the world than the Cemetery of the Imam [Khomeini]."

A total of 15 years has passed by since Khomeini made this utterance, and during that time the Iranian people have gone through hardships that ordinary people would not be able to bear. The word "oppressed," which was used a lot by Khomeini and his associates at the beginning of the revolution to describe the poor among these people, now has come to be used when referring to the majority of the people.

During the Naw-Ruz (Iran's national new year holiday) celebrations after the revolution in March of 1979, Ayatollah Khomeini said that there was no reason to have the holiday that year since the families of the martyrs and the oppressed were not able to celebrate it, and that first of all it was necessary for them to secure their basic necessities. At the time, these statements aroused a tremendous protest on the part of Engineer

Bazargan, the prime minister, and Hasan Nazih, head of the National [Iranian] Petroleum Company and head of the Attorneys' Union. Bazargan put on an elegant suit and addressed the people in a large stadium, saying: "Let's celebrate the holiday this year even more than last year." And Hasan Nazih said: "A nation in which the average individual income is \$4,000 and which has billions of dollars of hard currency reserves is not an oppressed nation." There is no doubt that Nazih did not foresee that the Iranian people would be transformed into a nation of oppressed people within the space of just a few years, while hundreds of the mullahs and their sons, plus the merchants having ties to those in the centers of power, would join the ranks of the rich.

### The Oil Share

During the revolution, the clergymen with ties to Ayatollah Khomeini who occupied the high-ranking positions in the Islamic Republic, were promising the people that the revolution would bring them electricity, gas, and gasoline free of charge, and that basic goods would not be taxed. They also said that what they then called the "oil share," that is, each person's share earned from the oil revenues, would be distributed among the people every month. The striking thing about the matter is that Dr. Mohammad Mofatteh, one of the clergymen with close ties to the leader of the revolution, who was assassinated after the revolution, said, during one of his speeches in Tehran's Quba Mosque, two days after Khomeini's return: "After the revolution, every Iranian will have the right to demand \$270 a month, which will be his share of the oil revenues." Dr. Mofatteh disappeared, and those who believed him and joined the bandwagon of the revolution on their way to prosperity and economic and social justice did not receive anything from the oil revenues.

In spite of the intensified censorship of the press, some publications such as newspapers SALAM and HAM-SHAHRI, and the satirical newspaper GOL AQA, occasionally publish stories dealing with the tragedy of the nation that has depended on the promises of the clergymen and sent them to positions of power, only to then pray that God bring back the days of the Shah. Or, as GOL AQA said, in one of its issues, on the basis of a line from popular poetry: "We didn't appreciate the gold, so they were generous with us and gave us copper."

We have chosen excerpts from the column "Telephone of the Readers," in the newspaper SALAM, letters from the readers in the newspapers JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI and the satirical newspaper GOL AQA, as well as excerpts from a report published by HAMSHAHRI, concerning the widespread poverty in Iran, in order to show the reality of how the Iranian people live after 15 years of their "revolutionary" regime.

The following was printed in the radical newspaper SALAM, published by Hojjat ol-Islam Mohammad Musavi-Kho'iniha, the former public prosecutor and leader of the Line of the Imam students, in Issue No. 802

of 20 February 1994: "I ask those in power, why are the oppressed ones, who have to buy a kilogram of chicken for R2,700, at fault? Did the price of the dollar rise because of the month of Ramadan or the Naw-Ruz holiday?"

In the same issue of SALAM we read: "I am the father of a student at the Free University in Tehran, which is owned by Rafsanjani, Khamene'i, and a number of other persons in high positions in the regime. For my son's tuition, I paid R331,000 for the first semester and 345,000 for the second semester. And now the people in charge of the university are demanding that I pay them an additional R263,000 for last year. Is the Free University free to raise its tuition whenever it wants and as much as it wants?"

Another quote from the same issue of SALAM was: "I am a retired employee. I swear by God that I still do not own my house. Thirty years ago I bought a small plot of land in a railroad town. However, the municipality refuses to issue me a building permit."

In Issue No. 806 of SALAM, dated 26 February, we read: "The removal of the slogan 'Death to Saddam' from the walls of Tehran on the occasion of the arrival of an Iraqi delegation to Tehran, has caused a lot of anguish to the families of the martyrs. Being a member of an Iranian family that has given up a few martyrs in the fight against Saddam, I strongly protest this."

In Issue No. 805 of the same newspaper, we see the following: "Whenever I hear the word 'subsidy,' referring to the government support for the prices of foodstuffs, I am very surprised. Officials are talking about government price supports as if they are paying for them from their own pockets or from the wealth of their families. Were the allocations for government subsidies for some of the foodstuffs not provided from the treasury and the revenues earned from oil, gas, and copper, which are the property of the people? And are we still providing Syria with oil free of charge?"

In the same issue we read: "The president of the Republic indicated that prices in Iran are very low. Does he know anything about the salary levels of employees?"

From Another Newspaper:

In the newspaper HAMSHAHRI, which is put out by the municipality of Tehran on colored pages costing the municipality R250 per copy (whereas the paper is sold at a price of R50 per copy), a report dealing with widespread poverty was published in Issue No. 356, dated 9 March 1994.

One of the things mentioned in the introduction to the report, which was written by the newspaper's editor for social affairs, was the following: "Have I suffered hunger? I don't mean for an hour, a day, or three days, but rather for a whole month, a whole year, or a number of years

"Do you know what it means to be an orphan? Or what it means not to be waiting for someone? Believe me, there are many children in Iran who are dreaming about having a hand of compassion. Do you know what it means to have to wait a whole month just to eat a bowl of rice? Do you know how long it takes for a poor child to forget what a banana looks like?"

"Can you put yourself in the place of Maryam, the young girl who came to school at the end of spring with her winter coat on and who, in spite of the sarcastic remarks of her schoolmates, was unable to take it off because she wanted to hide her shabby clothes?"

"Have you ever been in the position of the father who, a few days ago, pretended to his children that he was going to buy clothes for them for the holidays? Could you, like his children, pretend that you don't need any new clothes and that what you have is beautiful and up-to-date? Can you put yourself in the place of the eldest son of an Iranian family who, when he sees that the dinner table does not have enough food for his little brothers and sisters, pretends that he has already eaten outside home and that his stomach is full?"

Then the report from HAMSHAHRI talks about some families who were visited by the writer of the report. They include the family of "Khadijeh," a 40-year-old woman. Khadijeh says that her husband committed suicide four years ago because of poverty and how hard life was for him.

Khadijeh is a mother of four, and she has to take care of her family with 4,000 toman per month (bearing in mind that the cost of a kilogram of meat in government stores is more than 576 toman). In other words, Khadijeh, with her monthly salary, is not even able to buy seven kilograms of meat.

In the newspaper JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI, the newspaper's editor-in-chief called upon the "rich to help the oppressed ones during the feast." But the nouveaux riches are not concerned, they live in luxury homes in northern Tehran, which they occupied under the protection of the Revolution Guard, they ride around in bullet-proof Mercedes cars, and they send their children to the land of the Great Satan (America) for them to go to school there and to enjoy themselves.

#### **Dr. Sa'id Has Barely Enough to Live On, and Hamid Reza, the Fruit Peddler, Now Owns Half of Tehran**

Dr. Sa'id studied English at the Pahlavi University in Shiraz, and received a Ph.D. in English Literature, with a rating of "very good," from the University of Tehran two years before the revolution took place. He is married and has three children, the eldest of which is Hamid, who is studying physics in his first year at the University of Tehran. His wife, Mina, works as a teacher in the Girls' Institute. He works as an instructor at the University of Tehran, he also teaches six hours a week at the Institute of International Political and Economic Studies in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and he also puts in 10

hours at the Free University. On weekends he makes corrections in academic books that have been translated for the Tehran University Publishing Company. He was one of those who was enthusiastic about the revolution, and he was one of the founders of the Association of Revolutionary Professors who led the university sit-in in Iran. As a member of the revolutionary professors' delegation, he met Khomeini on the day of his return to Iran.

The earnings of Dr. Sa'id and his wife, in addition to the amounts of money they get from various sources and from additional teaching and translation, amount to 67,000 tomans a month. This total equals 10 times the average salary of a low-ranking government employee. But in spite of this, for about a year Dr. Sa'id has been forced to work at night, using his Paykan automobile to transport passengers back and forth between Tehran and Karaj.

Every time Dr. Sa'id takes five passengers from Tehran to nearby Karaj, he receives R5,000 from them. This has helped a great deal to make his life easier.

In an interview with the newspaper ETTELA'AT, Dr. Sa'id pointed out that the rent gobbles up half of his earnings, and that he lives in a two-bedroom apartment in downtown Tehran.

Dr. Sa'id's only hope is that he will be able to send his son Hamid abroad to continue his studies before he is drafted into the military.

Dr. Sa'id's cultured wife Mina is not even 45 years old but her appearance suggests that she is in her late forties. She is apprehensive about the future of her two daughters. She says: "Women have no value in Iran. The mentality of the men has changed during recent years. They [now] look at women as if they are furniture for the kitchen and bedroom."

#### The Story of Mohammad 'Ali

Mohammad 'Ali is a man in his forties who lives in the city of Esfahan. His eldest son Reza was killed in the war between Iran and Iraq, and his second son Mahmud lost an arm on the front.

He works in the iron and steel plants in Esfahan, and his monthly salary amounts to 12,000 tomans. He also receives 3,000 tomans from the Martyr Organization for his handicapped son Mahmud.

Mohammad 'Ali lives with his wife and five children in a humble house he inherited from his father before the revolution. He was one of the revolutionary workers, and after the revolution took place, he worked in the city of Esfahan's Central Revolutionary Committee for a year. At the same time, his eldest son Reza was one of the first to volunteer when the Iran-Iraq war broke out.

In a letter to the newspaper SALAM, Mohammad 'Ali explained his tragedy, saying that his salary was not

enough to feed even dry bread or rice to his children. He wondered: "Did the revolution not promise us a happy, decent life?"

Mohammad 'Ali begins his day at 0600. After he prays, he rides to the plant on his bicycle and works there from 0800 to 1700. Then he goes to the factory of Hajj Kazem, one of his relatives, and works there as a mechanic from 1800 until 2200. When he arrives back home, the hands of the clock show 2230.

#### Dr. Homa Darabi

Dr. Homa Darabi graduated from the College of Medicine at the University of Tehran, and specialized in psychiatry at a well-known American university. She married a colleague of hers, a well-known psychiatrist. Homa joined the Iranian National Front, which was in opposition to the Shah, when she was a university student, and was an active member of the Front. She went to jail because of her political activity and because of her admiration for the late national Iranian leader Dr. Mohammad Mosadeq after the revolution. When Daryush Foruhar, the leader of the National Front, became minister of labor, he suggested that Dr. Darabi be chosen as his assistant. But Homa refused to accept official positions, and she continued her work as a doctor and university professor. Homa Darabi's tragedy began when Ayatollah Khomeini decided to get rid of the nationalists and exercise power as a dictator. In spite of this, she resisted all of the pressures and continued to teach and receive patients at her private clinic. But one day in 1992 she received an official letter from the rector of the University of Tehran, informing her that she was discharged from the university because of her views, which were hostile to the government. For two years Homa Darabi fought the university administration and the government in order that the unjust ruling issued against her be reconsidered. However, she admitted defeat when the Administrative Court gave its support to the ruling made by the rector of the University of Tehran. On a cold day last February, Homa got up early, took one last look at her sleeping husband and one of her daughters, and left the house, carrying a big container full of gasoline. She drove her car toward the Tehran suburb of Shemiran, chose a spot that was full of people passing by, and then got out of her car. As she was throwing the contents of the container all over her body, she began shouting slogans against the regime and ignited herself. As the fire was burning her body, some of the passers-by hurried to save her, but the revolutionary lady did not allow anyone to come near her and she continued to scream until she fell down to the ground. A few hours later Homa Darabi fell silent, while she was still dreaming of freedom.

#### The Story of Hamid Reza

Hamid Reza is forty years old, was not able to finish elementary school because his family was too poor, and had to work in the fruit-sellers' square in the city of Tehran for several hours as a porter. After working there

for a while, he met Mr. Mohsen 'Ali, whose brother owned a big store in the fruit-sellers' square, and Mohsen 'Ali helped him to get a job with his brother, Hajj Javad, the store owner. Hajj Javad was one of Ayatollah Khomeyni's supporters and participated in demonstrations in support of him against land reform and granting women the right to vote in 1963. During Khomeyni's exile in Turkey and Iraq, Hajj Javad used to send amounts of money to him from time to time. This earned Hajj Javad a special place in the heart of Ayatollah Khomeyni. During the revolution, Hajj Javad became responsible for Khomeyni's reception committee, while his brother Mohsen was made responsible for driving Khomeyni's car, on the day of his return, from the airport to the 'Alavi School. And Mohsen, who in all of his activities had not forgotten his friend Hamid Reza, chose him to be one of Khomeyni's bodyguards and bought him a pistol from a former member of the armed forces.

Hamid Reza thus became one of the Imam's bodyguards. When the Revolution Guard was established and Mohsen got one of the leading positions, he appointed Hamid Reza as an assistant to the commander of the Revolution Guard in the Tehran area. As Mohsen's position rose in importance, Hamid Reza's position also rose with him until he became head of the Intelligence Division of the Revolution Guard in 1984 and he kept this position until his friend Mohsen was transferred to the Foundation for the Oppressed. At that point, Hamid Reza decided to try his luck in commercial business, during the beginning phase of the commercial open-door

policy. Of course, Hamid Reza kept, and still keeps, his influence with the Revolution Guard and its intelligence division. He is also considered to be one of the most powerful men of the regime in Iran, in spite of the fact that, to all outward appearances, he works in the field of business. Hamid Reza's wealth, after he took possession of the Kater Company, is estimated at about 1.7 billion tomans. He owns a palace in Tehran, as well as a villa overlooking the Caspian Sea, a large park in Karaj, a 148-apartment housing complex at Vanak Square, in North Tehran, and he supervises 40 industrial units. He also owns 30 percent of the business shops in the Safavi Market in North Tehran.

Hamid Reza begins his day at 0900, he sits in the back seat of his bullet-proof Mercedes, and orders his driver to take him to the Kater Company on Shari'ati Street. After his inspection tour at the company, he goes to one of the secret headquarters of the Intelligence Division of the Revolution Guard where he reads a few letters and files and then issues some orders. At about noon he goes to the "Rest House," which is a building surrounded with trees in North Tehran, where he spends hours with his buddies sitting around an opium table. In the evening, he makes inspection rounds at his companies and establishments, visits some officials, and then he goes to his white villa where he spends the remaining hours of the evening with his family and children, watching the latest videos from America and Europe and satellite channel programs which the people of Iran are forbidden to watch.

Average Foreign Currency Exchange Rates Vis-a-Vis the Rial

Currency	March 1979	March 1989	March 1994
U.S. dollar	R 67	R 1,400	R 2,500
Pound sterling	R 120	R 2,600	R 4,000
German mark	R 30	R 1,100	R 1,530
French franc	R 12	R 240	R 400
Swiss franc	R 37	R 1,204	R 1,600
Saudi riyal	R 18	R 400	R 560
Kuwaiti dinar	R 230	R 4,500	R 6,400

Table of Average Prices of Some Basic Goods and Appliances

Item	March 1978	March 1988	March 1994
Refrigerator (locally produced)	R 37,000	R 1 million	R 1.4million
Refrigerator (imported)	R 60,000	R 1.7million	R 2.5million
TV set (local)	R 57,000	R 280,000	R 700,000
TV set (imported)	R 65,000	R 900,000	R 2 million
Washing machine (local)	R 70,000	R 110,000	R 1.7million
Washing machine (imported)	R 80,000	R 3.3million	R 3 million



The average rise in prices of ready-made clothing was 130 percent. Men's suits which sold for R500 before the revolution now sell for R65,000. The percentage of the increase in prices for domestically produced cars (Paykan, Renault, Peugeot, Nissan) rose tremendously.

The price of the Paykan car rose from R500,000 in 1979 to R18 million in 1994. The price of a 1979 Chevrolet car, produced in Iran (the production of which stopped

after the revolution), now is R11.5 million, whereas the price of this car, when purchased in 1979, was R1.1 million.

Whoever is able to purchase an imported Mercedes automobile (the favorite car of the clergymen and those in positions of power) will have to pay R16 billion, that is, 16 million tomans, in order to get one.

**Iranian Prices—Average Food Prices per Kilogram in Recent Years**

Item	March 1978	March 1988	March 1994
Yoghurt	R50	R390	R543
Iranian cheese	R60	R2,400	R3,893
Bulgarian cheese	R80	R3,000	R5,400
Butter (local)	R50	R4,000	R5,000
Milk	R40	R250	R1,600
Eggs (30 eggs)	R150	R1,480	R3,133
Rice (imported)	R40	R550	R750
Rice (local)	R100	R1,800	R3,087
Lamb meat	R150	R3,600	R5,773
Beef	R100	R2,070	R5,763
Chicken	R180	R1,650	R2,447
Sugar	R30	R450	R1,069
Tea	R300	R2,000	R4,500
Vegetable fat	R40	R1,800	R2,700
Oranges	R50	R400	R1,178
Tangerines	R100	R700	R975
Cucumbers	R30	R400	R800
Tomatoes	R40	R600	R718
Eggplants	R40	R300	R600
Potatoes	R15	R200	R265
Onions	R10	R450	R923
Beans	R20	R600	R2,300
Coca Cola (bottle)	R6	R1,000	R250

The figures are taken from the newspapers ETTELA'AT, BURS, HAMSHARI, and from the Census and Statistics Center.

### **Resalat Political Wing, Azari-Qomi's Role Discussed**

94LA0169A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
17 May 94 p 6

[Article by Ja'far Ra'id: "Challenges Facing President Rafsanjani"]

[Text] The majority of members of the Majles belong to a bloc strongly linked to the bazaar—the big traditional merchants—in the Iranian homeland generally and in the capital, Tehran, particularly. This bloc has become

known as the Resalat group, in reference to a daily morning newspaper RESALAT (Message) that speaks for them.

The Resalat bloc does not rally under the banner of a party organization or the like. The group is united only by ties of mutual acquaintance and cooperation based on common principles and economic interests.

Terms used in the media, such as rightist, leftist, fundamentalist, and other similar terms do not apply to the Iranian Resalat group. Basically, we can say that it is religiously and culturally conservative, but believes in allowing free scope to the private sector, supporting the national economy, and resisting foreign hegemony. The group maintains very strong links to circles of the ulama and their entourage of religious students, especially in Qom at present and in Mashhad.

It is certain that the streets of the Iranian bazaar, in agreement with the halls of Shiite religious schools, were what initially undertook to spread the seeds of the Iranian revolution, sustaining it physically and morally until it took root, grew, flourished, and bore fruit.

In the summer of 1963, the bazaar led a violent uprising in Tehran, Qom, and Mashhad, which the shah's government suppressed without mercy, slaying or wounding many victims. In the wake of the uprising, Imam Khomeyni, the mastermind of the bloody uprising, was banished from the country. He remained with his family in his place of exile in Turkey for a year and a few months, then went to Iraq and settled in al-Najaf. He worked openly and secretly to overthrow the imperial system in Iran. He succeeded in realizing his goal in February 1979, after about 16 years. The bazaar had been the firm base of the revolution since it began fermenting in the forties. Leftist and extremist organizations joined the revolutionary mass shortly before the outbreak of the revolution. That was the unruly sea that overthrew a venerable regime whose roots went back 3,000 years into history and brought an entirely new regime, the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Using methods at which only they excel, the extremist organizations succeeded in riding the wave of the Iranian revolution during its prime and infiltrating strategic centers in it. During the first days, they publicly or secretly eliminated most of those they considered their enemies. So influential did they become in sensitive areas that they eliminated the chosen elite of revolutionary leaders that had sprung from that conservative traditional milieu, such as Ayatollah Beheshti and Ayatollah Motahhari. Some of them they assassinated individually; in the case of over 70 of them they blew up the hall in which they had gathered. With the speed of an irresistible whirlwind, these extremist groups nationalized companies and institutions and seized homes and real estate on various pretexts. However, the revolution's top leadership was gradually able to free itself from these extremist groups, one of which was the Tudeh party, the largest Moscow-oriented communist party in the Middle East. Some of the party's leaders are still in prison. Death on the gallows awaited some of its military leaders.

Days upon days pass. Domestic events react with international and regional developments. Circumstances help the traditional bazaar group regroup and rebuild their ranks. They seize the opportunity to banish extremist ulama such as Mohtashami and Khoi'niha from the parliamentary arena. The group slips quietly without noise into the Majles. It chooses one of its supporters, Hojjat ol-Eslam 'Ali Akbar Nateq-Nuri, as speaker of the Majles. The group practically holds the reins of the Iranian Majles. It emerges into view as able to exert more influence on President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani than the hard-liners who had ridden roughshod throughout the third session of the Majles, which preceded the present session.

For the first time since the revolution, observers can witness in Iran the formation of a class or quasi-class on the way to gaining power in the country and adopting a policy with more or less clear features on the domestic and foreign level. It then will be feasible for the major forces that control the courses of international policies to enter into fruitful dialogue with the bodies representing that class or quasi-class for the benefit of Iran, the region, and the entire human community. This class or quasi-class, starting from its interests, its historical roots and social position, and its relations with other sectors of the Iranian people, is trying to play an active role in the following four directions:

1. Not to turn its back on the revolution that has taken place in the country, but to make a strenuous effort to safeguard its accomplishments and gains and strive to preserve its Islamic Shiite character.
2. Not to neglect Iran's national interests, however strong the external pressures, and to strive continually to protect those interests, making sacrifices if necessary to defend them.
3. To maintain the existing broad relations between it, religious scholarly circles, and the traditional religious seminaries.
4. Defend stubbornly and without yielding the interests of this class and its traditional allies among learned religious bodies; this by maintaining the strength of the private sector, encouraging its role through the market economy, and facilitating government support to it.

There is evidence that this development that has emerged from events in Iran has not escaped the notice of some major countries. These countries now are busily seeking ways to help them approach the centers that represent the Resalat group and enter into dialogue with them.

The beginning of the story of this group coincides with the revolution and a religious scholar named Ayatollah Azari-Qomi, the second greatest judge of the Iranian revolution after its victory. Arrested and imprisoned during the time of the shah, he is said to have memorized the Koran during his stay in prison. Appointed the revolution's public prosecutor, he followed a moderate path, helping many of those arrested to leave prison and saving them from death. He became known for gentleness and tolerance.

On account of this, stubborn hard-liners opposed him and forced him to resign. He traveled to Iraq to make contact with the ulama of al-Najaf. (It was before the outbreak of war between the two countries.) When he returned to Iran, he taught religious courses at the seminary in Qom. He established a bond of cooperation with the Association of Revolutionary Teachers supported by Imam Khomeyni—it is now sponsored by Ayatollah Sayyid 'Ali Khamene'i, leader of the revolution. Azari-Qomi was elected to membership in the second session of the Majles as representative of the city

of Qom. The session began in 1984 and ended in 1988, a period of four years, as the Iranian constitution specifies. During the session he was elected to membership on the parliamentary committee on economic and financial affairs.

Ayatollah Azari-Qomi is considered a superior jurist. Responsible parties in the Islamic Republic of Iran refer to him for his opinion on various matters of Islamic law. Imam Khomeyni and the regime assigned him major tasks, including serving as the revolution's public prosecutor and representing Imam Khomeyni in the Majles to review the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Azari-Qomi was one of Imam Khomeyni's outstanding students.

Azari-Qomi became famous for his independent positions and his opposition to the governments that successively assumed responsibility for administering the Islamic Republic of Iran.

One of the most important things to be mentioned in this regard is his opposition to the policy of the former prime minister, Engineer Mir Hoseyn Musavi Khamene'i, who followed a line very close to socialism when it came to safeguarding private property and big corporations. Azari-Qomi was the regime's religious scholar who presented the greatest challenge to Musavi, whom Imam Khomeyni had no other choice than to support strongly as prime minister during the Iraq-Iran war. Azari-Qomi strongly attacked the government's economic policy and received threats from some enthusiastic supporters of that policy.

In 1985, Azari-Qomi and his group of supporters began publishing a daily newspaper entitled RESALAT as a free pulpit to spread their ideas and explain their political ethic. It was said at the time that there might be a degree of understanding and mutual rapprochement between Ayatollah Azari-Qomi and the then deputy speaker of the Majles, Ayatollah Shaykh Mohammad Yazdi. Shaykh Mohammad Yazdi is currently head of the judiciary. The newspaper was known from the beginning for following a moderate line calling for establishing balanced international relations and a market economy.

Observers in Iran believe that Azari-Qomi speaks for the bazaar people (the big merchants in the Iranian market). He has been and remains an indefatigable critic of state interference with the private sector. He supports the private sector's administering most economic affairs, including civil services, communications, and such development projects as dams and the like. This attitude has encouraged the major bazaar merchants to support the newspaper RESALAT and its owner.

It should be mentioned that this group's support of the country's top policy achieved an overwhelming victory for the government wing. This group took the lion's share in the results of elections for the fourth and current session of the Majles. The Resalat bloc has the most

powerful influence in the Majles. Its legislative weight gives it the power to make any bill in the Majles succeed or fail.

The full name of the bloc's leader is Ayatollah Ahmad Bigdeli Azari-Qomi. He is considered one of the influential teachers and jurists of the Qom seminary, and is a senior founder of the Association of Teachers in Qom, which we can consider to some extent the official society of Shiite jurists in Iran.

### Telephone Call Rates Abroad Increase

94LA0170F Tehran KEYHAN-E HAVA'I in Persian  
4 May 94 p 11

[Text] Tehran, 15 Ordibehesht [25 April]—As of 15 Farvardin 1373 [4 April 1994] the per-minute telephone rate from Iran to other parts of the world was increased based on a measure enacted by the Supreme Economic Council.

Based on this measure, the new rates will be calculated for two time periods, one from 0700 to 2400 and the other, at a reduction of 50 percent, from 2400 to 0700. The previous rate, which has been in effect since the year 1368 [21 March 1989-20 March 1990], made no distinction between day and night.

Part of the recent measure enacted by the Economic Council states:

1 - The international telephone rates for calls placed by subscribers and for calls placed with partial operator assistance will go into effect as of 15 Farvardin 1373, and will go into effect for cash calls as of the date of the publication of these guidelines.

2 - Connections made on international calls only will be reduced 50 percent from 2400 to 0700 and likewise all day on Fridays.

3 - In view of the fact that action on international telephone taxes will be taken collectively at the central office, all money collected for international telephone connections will be deposited in the revenues account based on the rates given in the enclosed tables

4 - The fees for the contractors at the application centers and for the managers at the communications offices will be calculated in any case from the international telephone revenues after deducting 40 percent

5 - If the last numeral to the right in the figure for the total amount due is less than 5 rials [R], then R5 will be collected, and if it is between R5 and R10, R10 will be collected.

According to the new measure, the rate for telephone calls will be R1,266 for each minute between Iran and Germany, Switzerland, and France; R1,372 per minute to Sweden; R1,380 to the Ukraine and Russia; R1,552 to England; R2,068 to the Netherlands; R2,068 to Iraq; R1,552 to Saudi Arabia, R3,586 to Madagascar; R1,552

to Australia; R2,625 to America; R3,102 to Argentina and Mexico; and R4,138 for countries such as Chile and Honduras.

## PAKISTAN

### Nusrat Bhutto Discusses Family Politics

94AE0112A London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic  
15 May 94 pp 32-35

[Unnamed interviewer questions Begum Nusrat Bhutto in Islamabad; date not given]

[Excerpts] The meeting was not accidental or coincidental; AL-MAJALLAH had requested an interview with Begum Nusrat Bhutto, mother of Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, to hear of the latest developments in Pakistan's political situation. The battle is at its fiercest between the opposition, led by former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, and the People's Party government, which returned to power led by a non-iron woman, yet one who has firmly established her presence in a country where power has always been wielded by men.

Nusrat Bhutto is the wife of the respected politician Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, who was executed by former Pakistani President Zia-ul-Haq, on the charge of having carried out the murder of a member of the opposition. Her maiden name was Nusrat al-Isfahani; she is Iranian, of the Shiite sect. Her husband became acquainted with her, then married her.

Our meeting with Nusrat Bhutto was at Sindh House in Islamabad, which is composed of connected residences for the convenience of politicians in this state, seen as the most important of Pakistan's states by far, for when they visit the new capital established by former Pakistani President General Muhammad Ayub Khan in 1964.

Nusrat Bhutto looks to be in her early fifties, but is actually in her late fifties. She is surrounded by a group of male and female attendants, all of whom await her on the lower floor, while she prepares herself for a full day on the upper floor of one of the residences at Sindh House. [passage omitted]

### Wholesale Accusations

We were not with Nusrat Bhutto long before asking about the relationship between her and her daughter, though we avoided entering too directly into this subject. She embarked on her answer as she seated herself in a comfortable chair in a beautiful and orderly sitting room: "She will hurt herself. She will be the victim of her own unpredictable behavior."

Nusrat Bhutto spoke on, ignoring the protests of one of those present who did not want to turn the session into a discussion of family matters. She said, "Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, God rest his soul, gave her two pieces of advice: to obey her mother, telling her that paradise lies at the

feet of mothers, and never to distance herself from the poor; to take up their problems and issues constantly."

She went on to say, with no pause at the remarks and gestures of those who came in to stop the interview, "She has done the exact opposite of what her father advised. She has distanced herself from the poor, and surrounded herself with a retinue of (former President) Zia-ul-Haq's bunch, and the Reform Party. She no longer listens to a word from me, or to one particle of my advice."

She said that she herself is to blame, because she spoiled her daughter Benazir more than necessary, having gotten into the habit of refusing her nothing. Nusrat Bhutto said that the poor are the ones who had made Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto the leader of Pakistan, and that he had focused most of his attention on providing every Pakistani with his or her daily bread and clothing.

She added, with bitter sarcasm, "Zulfiqar was grooming Shahnawaz [the son who is said to have committed suicide in France some years ago] for leadership and governing. To him, Benazir was just a spoiled girl he wanted to be educated, to graduate from the finest universities."

### Bhutto's Ring

Without stopping, without even paying the slightest attention to the protests of some, Nusrat added that her daughter Benazir is "bewitched," and that she became certain of this when she sent one of her friends to inspect her bed: "This friend actually went and inspected the bed and found twelve fingernails painted black in the bedstead over the bed."

In a fiery tone she exclaimed, "I never believed these things, but I checked myself, and we found these black nails in Benazir's bed frame. I took them to a clergyman who is famous for fighting evil spirits. He took them and poured a certain oil over them, then burned them. At that point I noticed that Benazir's behavior changed, and that she had become rational again, but that was only temporary."

Begum Nusrat told the story of the struggle for leadership between the Bhutto family and the family of Benazir's husband. She said that her son Murtaza, currently imprisoned in a Sindh prison, had asked for his father's ring, which had been kept by his sister Benazir after Zulfiqar's execution, "but she put him off, procrastinated, and avoided doing it."

She continued with this story, which is a highly painful one for her, saying, "When I found out that she wanted to keep this ring for herself and her children later on, I asked her to give it to me temporarily so that I could take it to a jeweler for him to make one exactly like it for Murtaza. She refused. I found out that she had had made a ring just like it made for her son, who is still a young child."



Nusrat Bhutto repeated the story of this ring again and again, and told how she had given the specifications of the ring to a jeweler, and asked him to make one like it based on her description, "but the jeweler was not able to. He gave us a ring that did not look one thing like Zulfiqar's ring."

#### **Rats in Prison**

Begum Nusrat moved on from discussing Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's ring, which Benazir had insisted on keeping for her and her children, to the story of her son Murtaza, who had been imprisoned on the charge of hijacking a plane in the early 1980s. She insisted that the charge was fabricated, and that the intention was to put an end to the Bhuttos' rule and finish off their political life in Pakistan.

The widow of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, and mother of Pakistan's prime minister, asserted that she did not want to

interfere in the case, but that all she was asking was for Benazir to intercede to speed up the trial, "because the conditions Murtaza is enduring in prison are unbearable. He has been put in a small cell, like a criminal's cell."

Nusrat Bhutto says that her son told her the water in his cell was shut off some time ago, and that he cannot shave himself; and that mice and rats can roam freely and play. "We asked the director of the prison why there are rats, and he said the reason is the changes in the climate. But I found out that they brought them on purpose to frighten and terrorize him."

Nusrat Bhutto returned to the subject of her daughter, describing her as stubborn and moody. "I told you she is bewitched. I am afraid she will be murdered, because her enemies have been able to infiltrate her entourage, and because she does not listen to the advice of her father's friends, who want only the best for her." [passage omitted]

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